DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 133 416 UD 016 697

TITLE	Toward Reflective Analysis of Black Families. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Office of Child Development (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Nov 76
GRANT	OHD-W-252
NOTE	106p.; Parts of this document may not be clearly legible due to the print quality of the original
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$6.01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Black Community; *Conceptual Schemes; Demography; *Family (Sociological Unit); Family Life; Models; Negro Culture; *Negroes; *Negro Institutions; Negro Role; *Research Methodology; *Socialization

ABSTRACT

This report contains a description of the Atlanta University School of Social Work's research project, "Toward Reflective Analysis of Black Families". Among the goals of the one-year research project were the following: to compile a 94-page review of significant books for the study of black family life, to create a research/study group composed of five investigators to develop frameworks for analyzing Black family socialization, to develop a manuscript to identify this group's own analytical framework for the socialization of black families reflecting the realities of black family life in America, and to hold an Atlanta Invitational Symposium. This report includes the specially prepared manuscript, which provides the following information: demographic characteristics of the black population, a review of black family studies in the U.S., a delineation of an analytical frame of reference for developing a reflective and analytical theory of black family socialization, and comments and critiques of the symposium panelists. (Author/AM)

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UD016697

Toward Reflective Analysis Of Black Families

Final Report

Office of Child Development
Grant # OHD-W-252 (75)

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School of Social Work
November, 1976

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTORY SUMMARY

The sum results of the Atlanta University School of Social Work's year of research on the project, "Toward Reflective Analyses of Black Families" are as follows:

1) The creation of a research/study group composed of five investigators committed to the development of truer frameworks for analysing black family socialization;

2) Five successful gatherings of this Reflective Analyses Research Group;

3) The compilation of a ninety-four (94) page review of books significant to the study of black family life;

4) The development of a collaborative manuscript which identifies the Group's perspective of a 'reflective' analytical framework of socialization and black families;

   this document includes demographic data, literature review and 'reflective' analytical framework

5) The calling of an Atlanta Invitational Symposium which saw noted black family scholars react and respond to the Reflective Analyses manuscript;

6) The publication of the collective monograph including critiques from participants at the Symposium.

Negative results of the Reflective Analyses Project are minimal. The original composition of the research group was to have included Wade Nobles from the Westside Mental Health Center in San Francisco, California. Due to extenuating circumstances, Dr. Nobles could not be an ongoing participant for the year's activities. However, even this negative situation was alleviated when the Group formally accepted the participation of Howard Dodson, an historian, originally assigned as editorial consultant by our contracted printer, the Institute of the Black World. Dr. Nobles's critical input was included in the Symposium responses to the reflective analyses manuscript.

The other negative result of this project was its failure to critically evaluate appropriate research populations and instrumentation for the implementation of our 'reflective' analysis conceptualizations. The time and process necessary to make the clearest and most qualitative statement on reflective analysis of black family life did not allow the opportunity for population and instrument evaluation.

"TOWARD REFLECTIVE ANALYSES OF BLACK FAMILIES"

Final Report Narrative

From July 1, 1975 through August 30, 1976, the Atlanta University School of Social Work has conducted a research project entitled "Toward Reflective Analyses of Black Families." This project was designed to implement a series of four (4) theoretical planning sessions which gathered research scholars experienced in the utilization of non-deficit analytical frameworks of black families. The purpose of these planning sessions was to coalesce theoretical underpinnings and produce an agenda of reflective research for future investigation of socialization patterns among black American families. The objectives of this research endeavor were:

I. To produce a synthesis of literature and research data which assumed a theoretical and analytical perspective of black families as positive agents of socialization;

II. To create the beginnings of a theoretical continuum using a 'reflective' perspective. This was to include accompaning conceptual paradigms;

III. To improve research comparability in the field of black families through identifying and evaluating appropriate populations and instruments for testing the reflective framework and;

IV. To provide the basis for more reliable research on socialization and black families which in turn could provide for the creation and implementation of child oriented services which achieve societial as well as sub-cultural goals.

PROJECT RATIONALE:

Within American society the development, planning and delivery of human services is predicated upon theoretically grounded research findings of the social and behavioral sciences. At times the delivery of these services is called into serious question; in part because the delivery process is inadequate and in part because the data findings from research do not always clearly support program implementation. Questioning of human service deliver takes one to the heart of the problem--theoretical underpinnings. If theoretical assumptions, generated hypothesis and/or resulting propositions do not manifest themselves in research outcomes congruent with community needs for service delivery, then such delivery systems do not benefit from research undertakings. This is not to suggest that all research must of necessity be congruent with service delivery needs, however, research should most assuredly represent an intrical part of the knowledge bank requisite for effective human service delivery.

An area in which human service delivery has been and is currently under serious question is programing which affects

children of and in Afro-American families. For too long, child-oriented family programming has assumed that black children and their families were unfortunate pockets of maladjustment to a white norm. The validation of these assumptions has come from social and behavioral research which evolved from theoretical constructs of difficiency and pathology for black families. Currently, the very accurate critique of human service programs affecting black families is directed at the false and non-reflective nature of theoretical frameworks for the study of black family life. As Wade Nobles typically articulates this critique:

> ...the major problems in the Black family may not, in fact, be problems implicit in the family itself, but rather in the assumptions implicit in the theoretical analysis of the Black family. The "problems" ... are artifacts of a hisotrical myth-examination or myth-analysis of the Black Family and the consequential programs. . .which are based on these (1975:1)

The hiatus between understanding the false nature of inaccurate analytical framework and creation of more reflective ones, frameworks upon which research can be initiated to better the development of child-oriented social program, is THE PROBLEM that confronts human service delivery systems. In an effort to come to grips with THE PROBLEM, one of the more significant but least utilized products of the Black Awareness Movement of the 1960's was the conceptualization of Afro-American families as non-pathological units of socialization for children. This

formulation, though not pervasive throughout the social sciences, persisted enough in the thought, training and research of some scientists that there was an apparent need to coalesce the field for implications of a reflective analytical framework. The research project, "Toward Reflective Analyses of Black Families", was initiated to begin the coalescing process as well as to begin developing a 'reflective analytical framework' for the study of black family socialization.

PROJECT PARTICIPANTS:

Five active scholars familiar with non-deficit analysis of black families were recruited to participate in the conceptual activities of the Reflective Analyses proposal. The participation of these scholars was based on commitment to proposal goals in that they received no financial returns and could not allow their activities to interfer with full-time employment assignments.

Participants were selected with an intent of giving the group interdisclipinary balance as well as perspective on geographic differences. Ruth Dennis, of Meharry Medical College, provided the statistical expertise to our conceptualizations. Howard Dodson from the Institute of the Black World, helped maintain historical perspective and continiuty. Harriette McAdoo of Howard University was the group's socialization expert with experience in research methodology. Arthur Mathis,

located at Meharry Medical College, brought psychological perspective as well as child-oriented research experience to our activities. Lastly, Jualynne Dodson of Atlanta University, was the project co-ordinator bringing sociological orientation and experience in research with black children.

The group met on five separate weekends, working an average of thirty hours for each meeting. The Institute of the Black World had contracted to publish the monograph resulting from the group's activities and provided recording of our gatherings.

PROJECT ACTIVITIES:

To begin conceptualizing analytical frames of reference which could reflect the socialization realities of black families, it was necessary to review the literature. A ninety four (94) page review of books significant to the study of black family life was developed. Our initial intent was to review literature which assumed a positive perspective to the socialization process. However, the group was very clear that such a bias would not lead to the whole truth of socialization nor to a 'reflective' analytical perspective. We therefore reviewed literature which had significant input to the study of black family life (Appendix I).

In order to give further focus to our conceptual activities, each investigator developed a working paper on socialization and

black families. Socialization was selected as the area of study in that it is the/a more salient function of family, providing the broadest avenues for conceptualizing reflective analyses. With the book reviews and initial working papers as guides, the group began the laborious process of theory construction.

Very early in our discussions it became clear that accurate and sufficient data were not available with which to proposition and theorize the socialization process of black families. We therefore reformulated our mandate as one which would begin to identify an analytical frame of reference from which more appropriate models for analysing black families could and would develop.

The first colaboratively written statement made by the group regarding reflective analysis of black families was submitted to a review panel for critique. Muriel Hamiltion of the National Day Care Study, Sandra Rouche, University Texas Psychology Department, Gordon Morgan, University of Arkansas Sociology Department, and Walter Allen, Duke University, each submitted detailed comments on the strengths and weaknesses of our developing document. With guidance and direction from these critiques, the group returned to the conference table to refine its ideas and schema. With the development of the

revised collaborative manuscript, a public symposium was decided as the medium for soliciting comment and critique.

The Atlanta Invitational Symposium was a single day gathering in which known scholars of black family life were asked to provide written and verbal response to our document, "Toward Reflective Analyses" (Appendix II). The panel of respondents was Jay Chunn of Howard University, John Dill of New York City College, Anna Grant of Morehouse College, Wade Nobles of Westside Mental Health Center, and Carol Stack of Duke University. The summarizing panelist for the Symposium was Robert Hill of the National Urban League. Person's from relevant academic and governmental communities were also invited to attend. The Regional Office of Child Development, the Black Child Development Institute the City of Atlanta in addition to such educational institutions as Amherst College of Massachusetts, Voorhees College of South Carolina, and Michigan State University were represented in the audience.

The purpose of the Symposium was to engage other black family scholars and thinkers in a dialogue of our manuscript. The goal was to identify and strengthen the weaknesses of our conceptualization of a reflective analytical perspective of black family socialization. Each panelist presented a prepared critique of the manuscript and then engaged in spontaneous exchange with the research group. As with all other activities,

the Institute of the Black World provided taped recordings of the Symposium.

As of this writing, the research group for the Reflective Analysis Project is in the process of completing the final editing of our monograph, Toward Reflective Analysis of Black Families. This document includes; a) demographic characteristics of black population, b) catagorical review of black family studies in the United States, c) delineations of a beginning perspective and analytical frame of reference for developing 'reflective' analytical theory of black family socialization, and d) comments and critiques of the Symposium panelist. The overall monograph is introduced by the Preface of Robert Hill of the National Urban League. The published document should be available for January 1977.

PROJECT EVALUATION:

Based on the four objectives of the Reflective Analysis Project only one remains incomplete. Whereas our group did review appropriate research populations and instrumentation for implementing our 'reflective' analytical perspective, we did not have the opportunity for serious evaluation. The task of formulating a conceptual analytical frame of reference whose research data and interpretation would reflect the realities of black family life in America was indeed more complex and more consuming of resources than anticipated.

However, this missing component of the Project work does not seriously hinder the quality nor the quanity of our activities.

Without a doubt, the published monograph, "Toward Reflective Analysis of Black Families"satisfies all other project objectives.

DISSEMINATION:

The dissemination component of this research project began with the first set of critical reviews of our collaborative manuscript. Similarily, the Invitational Symposium also served as an excellent mechanism for disseminating our conceptualizations to persons who can begin using them. When the monograph is returned from the publisher, it too will be shared with academic, research and policy persons involved in the study of and/or program design for black families.

Toward sharing the conceptualizations of 'reflective' analysis of black families with individuals in the various arenas of black family life study and program, our research group participated in a three hour panel presentation at the Annual Conference of the Black Child Development Institute held in Chicago.

It is certain that the conceptualizations of black family analysis put forth by our group will become a part of the

several course offerings of the five participating investigators. The faculty at Atlanta University School of Social Work without a doubt, shall have the formulation at their disposal as foundation for alternative theoretical perspective in training human services workers.

Lastly, it is hoped that the publication of our Final Report in the Education Resources Information Center will make it available to a broad spectrum of persons interested in the study of black family life.

APPENDIX I

The following book reviews have been extrapolated from a larger - 94 page-document. These extrapolations are exemplary of the types of books reviewed as well as the reviews.

TOWARDS REFLECTIVE ANALYSIS OF BLACK FAMILIES
Book Reviews

Atlanta University, 1976

Bernard, Jessie. Marriage and Family among Negroes. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

...Jessie Bernard has performed a great service for sociology and related social sciences by courageously undertaking an issue currently of the utmost delicacy, "the Negro family." Indeed, she has wisely avoided the usual generalizations about the Negro family and instead emphasized the variety of family types prevalent among Negroes in American society the commonest being the one in which husband and wife are living together in their first marriage.

Especially illuminating are the author's first two chapters, "The Marriage Trajectory" and "The Two Cultures." The first is an excellent example of applied sociology, that is, utilizing sociological concepts to explore the implications of historical and demographic data thereby giving greater density and relevancy to all approaches. Thus, Professor Bernard is able to construct a generational model for studying changing Negro family patterns through three phases: institutionalizing, urbanizing, and self-emancipating (p. 29). In the second chapter, the author attempts and largely succeeds at the difficult task of providing conceptual tools for avoiding the usual value biases in discussions of the "disorganized Negro family." Noting the traditional distinction between the "respectable" and "non-respectable" strands in Negro society, Professor Bernard attempts to convert these designations into "acculturated" and "institutionalized" or internally and externally adapted to various American familistic norms and values. While some ambiguity exists in her analyses, the author is able to show how, for Negroes, conformity to monogamous marriage is more a function of culture than of class since "respectable" and "non-respectable" patterns are found in all classes of Negroes.

In the last two chapters, "People" and "Socialization," one finds discussions of such important questions as the fallacy of matriarchy, the alleged emasculation of the Negro male, sex and race relations, and the effect on Negro families of having to socialize their offspring into an inferior role in American society. One might quarrel with some of Professor Bernard's contentions: that du Bois intended the Talented Tenth to transmit the Protestant Ethic to the masses (p. 44); that the influence of Black Muslimism on Negro marriage and family life has the same effects as those of the early Protestant missionaries (p. 46); that Southern benevolence and paternalism

toward Negroes represent love as distinct from hostility (p. 74); and that violence is a positive value among Black Muslims (p. 143). Nevertheless, the book's fresh orientation can serve to cut through much evaluative obfuscation in a widely discussed and overjudged yet remarkably understudied area, the institutional role of the family in Negro community life. The book is highly recommended to be read on its own or in conjunction with such courses as marriage and family and race relations.

Annals Am. Acad. Polit'l & Soc'l Scientists Vol. 371
May 1967

Over the past decade, the second most common theoretical approach to the sociology of the family has been related to structure and function - the most common has been to have no approach at all. The functionalist task has involved generalizations about the American family that will fit into a cross-cultural matrix (and cross-cultural analysis is "in" in American sociology these days). While a high level of abstraction and generalization obviously has value, it sometimes leads to oversimplifying complex social institutions and related behavior. The oversimplification of the American family is a case in point. The neglect of variations is clearly reflected in the lack of sociological studies of the Negro family. But it has been more than the stress on generalization that is responsible for the limited sociological research on the Negro family. Recent research has also been limited because of political pressures and fears. And since the "Moynihan Report," there has been a definite conservatism among various government agencies that might be expected to finance studies in the area. Even the research that has been done has had some unhappy consequences. Most sociologists recognize the need to study various subcultures not only for their own sake but also because this contributes to a better understanding of the broader society. Yet, often our interest in the Negro family has been focused on that which is special to subculture itself. We collect limited data on high illegitimacy or father absent families, and these are sometimes used by all types of "racists."

For all of these reasons, Jessie Bernard's sociological interpretation of selected historical forces and their consequences for the Negro family in the United States today. It examines some of the sociological consequences for the Negro family that have resulted from their particular minority status in the United States over the years.

Bernard distinguishes two general value orientations with regard to the contemporary Negro. One orientation she calls the acculturated, which implies strong internalization

Billingsley, Andrew, Giovannoni, Jeanne. Children of the Storm New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972.

The authors of this book have shown courage and good faith in writing it at a time when so many influential ears seem deaf to the needs of black children. Children of the Storm is a first-rate achievement - disarmingly short (in view of the enormity of the problem taken up), it nevertheless makes a sustained, forceful argument on behalf of the urgent difficulties millions of black children and youth continue to have and struggle with: and it is unexpectedly rich in historical information as well as contemporary social analysis.

Both authors have taught social welfare, . . . They have collaborated on a number of articles, and now this book. One wonders at times whether the country deserves the impressive blend of scholarly knowledge, social awareness, and political activism they have in their command. Hopeful enough to write this book, passionate enough to make unmistakably clear what they believe has been wrong and ought to be done, they never seem convinced that their writing will soon be out of date, and understandably so.

One wishes, but doubts, that those worried about present day "permissiveness" might take the trouble to read in this book's first chapters what has been and still is being permitted in this nation. Black children for generations were mere chattel in the South. But up North their lot was not better. In 1838 white mobs stormed an asylum for black orphans in Philadelphia and burned the building down; and the same thing happened in New York City during the Civil War. After the Civil War no great changes took place. The Freedman's Bureau, a potential instrument of far-reaching social and economic change, was quickly undercut by those who had power and money and no interest in sharing either with black people. Only since the 1930s have some successes been recorded in the way black children are treated when they are poor, without family, or in trouble of one kind or another. But progress has been slow, and retarded, the authors insist, not only by lack of a national commitment but by an array of wrong-headed notions about what, in fact, child welfare ought to be. We are shown, sometimes through direct quotes from historical sources, what poverty meant a century ago: to be poor was to be a moral failure, an outcast whose personal sense of responsibility had to be faulted. The point was not to ask why it was that some people have such a hard time; the point was to condemn them, and take care of them only in the most custodial fashion.

If poor people in general had to contend with that kind of Calvinist approach, then black parents and their children suffered especially hard. They were already outcasts, and

now their poverty only seemed to confirm in all too many minds the desirability of such a condition. God's will can be summoned when man feels himself in need of a boost of sanction, and alas, all too many orphanages and "homes" and agencies concerned with "colored children" were run by thoroughly pious, church-connected people who felt that those pathetic little boys and girls, so ignorant and without initiative, ought be "cared for." The authors show restraint as they page by page document condescension, arrogance, prejudice of the most blatant and unqualified kind - all in the name of Christian piety. It is a sad if edifying story.

The heart of the book is its insistence that the very principles of "child welfare" in this country have to be thoroughly challenged. Children ought not be removed from families and communities by high-handed, officious strangers who have very little sense of what might otherwise be done, given a proper understanding of the ghetto. Children ought not be looked after only when they are in trouble. Children need what White House Conference after White House Conference (they go on and on, a spectacle of good intentions come to naught) have documented: parents who can find work; decent medical care; houses that are not rat infested and lacking proper sanitation; schools that are not warehouses or places to board children for a few hours; and on and on. Instead, "social welfare" agencies, all too many of them dominated by those who move into an already troubled situation with a show of authority and not a little smugness, march off with the child. That child will soon enough be herded about, kept under the watch of those "professionals" who, the authors are convinced get trained in the wrong way to do the wrong things. Predominantly white, oriented toward "pathology," out of touch by background, emotionally, and (if one may say so) spiritually from those they work with, those "social workers" who specialize in "child welfare" are no plantation owners (nor should any overblown rhetoric call them that) but they are, rather commonly unaware of what might be done, what really needs to be done. Someday, one hopes, the black people of this country will have not only "civil rights" but that most elementary of human rights - the right to bring up their own children in a decent and honorable way and, when in trouble, the right to turn to their own neighbors and friends, their own people, for assistance. Meanwhile a book like this is here, lucidly written, persuasively argued, full of references for the scholarly or the doubtful, a testimony to the obligations that await us in America - when once more we are ready to move ahead.

areas, among rich and poor, black children die faster than white children, due to racism.

Black churches, schools, and fraternal organizations have invested heavily in the task of child-welfare oriented services. This has been essential because the prevailing, historical philosophies that people were poor because they were lazy, and that Blacks were inferior and depraved, have prevented the black children from enjoying the benefits of general charity assistance, while keeping their morale and self-esteem at a low level.

The authors treat this entire matter historically and systematically . . . The public agencies must be concerned for all children, but the principles within which they operate are subject to the white majority.

Therefore, the authors suggest, there is an urgent need for "specifically black-conceived, -designed,-managed, and -staffed agencies to serve in a specific way the needs of the black children in the context of black families and the black community." (pp. 228-229)

This book is informative, cemented by a central theme. It combines pertinent historical data with sensitive perception and provocative suggestions for a "Third System" of child welfare. It may well lead to new dimensions in child welfare, based on demonstrated needs of real American children whose very lives are at stake. . . a matter of survival or disintegration of the black family, and ultimately of the whole democratic ethos. Thelma D. Perry

Negro History Bulletin v 37 August 1974 p 295

Clark, Kenneth B. Dark Ghetto. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

He is very serious, sometimes as grave as St. Benedict. He has been trained in two disciplies: sociology and psychology. And he is given to long and penetrating expositions of social structures and personalities. He holds in tight rein both his anger and his compassion.

In a chapter on the power structure of the ghetto he says: "The effective use of the potential power of the Negro . . . may well be determined by (their) ability to control their ambivalence toward themselves and to develop the capacity for genuine and sustained respect for those Negroes who are worthy of confidence . . . The . . . distortions . . . of ghetto life make (it) difficult . . . to know whom he can trust. . . . He knows only his own deep despair and resentment. . . . The real tragedy is that (he) . . . has not taken himself seriously. . . ." In large part, of course, because

there has been a gut-deep refusal to take him seriously. And the realities of our situation are that change will prove difficult almost to the point of impossibility. But, how to try?

Black Nationalism? Dr. King? The pages in which the author inspects Dr. King's strategy of loving and forgiving the oppressor even while facing up to him and demanding justice are intensely interesting. He says, after examining the "pathology" of the Black Nationalist movement, "On the surface, King's philosophy appears to reflect health and stability. . . . A deeper analysis, however, might reveal an unrealistic, if not pathological, basis in King's philosophy as well. It is questionable whether masses of an oppressed group can, in fact, 'love' their oppressor. (Emphasis added.) The natural reactions to injustice, oppression and humiliation are bitterness and resentment. . . ." John Stanley New York University

Commonweal v 83 Oct. 15, 1965 p. 67

Davis, Allison and Dollard, John. Children of Bondage. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

. . . a first study in a series sponsored by the American Youth Commission of the American Council of Education on the development of Negro youth in the various sections of the United States. This particular study deals with the urban south and contains data and analyses of eight representative case studies selected from more than two hundred adolescents interviewed in New Orleans and Natchez.

The authors investigated the effect of social caste and social class position upon the development of Negro adolescent personality, utilizing the framework of reference as established by Dollard in his Caste and Class in Southern-town and W. Lloyd Warner's studies at the University of Chicago. The question raised is . . . discovery of how family and clique associations affected by the larger class and caste environment affect personality development.

Sociologiests may take some issue with Davis' and Dollard's fundamental thesis of frustration-aggression as an over-simplification of a more complex social situation. If a less strict academic position is assumed, however, the analysis may be accommodated with a good deal of illumination on a difficult subject because of this very cross-fertilization of conceptualization.

The social classes differ in their expectations, repressions, rewards and punishments, and in the type of

"anxiety state" they produce in the adolescents within their cultures. Lower class Negro adolescents, in general, are not blocked in goal responses of sex and aggression which are culturally permissive and actually stimulated by their class position; middle and upper class Negro adolescents may not express themselves in such direct physical and cultural aggressions and may have their anxiety reduced only by behavior which conforms to the values of these classes — socializing values which repress direct impulsive, aggressive, behavior.

From their investigations Davis and Dollard come to the conclusion that social class appears to have been more important than "racial" status in shaping the habits and goals of the various children studies. They attribute this to the fact that social class governs a much wider area of the child's social relations than Negro-White controls.

The authors believe that their analysis is least important because it deals with the lives of Negroes. The fundamental importance of the study lies in its attempt to add something to the knowledge of the fundamental factors involved in the socializing process no matter what racial or nativity group is considered. The study should be especially stimulating for all interested in the formal and informal education of youth. Broad theoretical and social control problems are raised for all those who are involved in a society based on social classes. Donald C. Marsh
Wayne University

American Sociological Review v 7 1942 p 575

Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro Family in the United States. Foreword by Nathan Glazer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Nathan Glazer, in a foreword, provides some analysis of Frazier's work and indicates some of the new concepts, approaches, and research bearing on the Negro family since the time of Frazier's research and writing. The revised and abridged edition — a "popularizing" of the original 1939 study — was first issued in 1948.

Journal of American History v 53 June, 1966 p 187

Frazier's study, first published in 1939 and then revised and abridged in 1948, is now reissued in the latter edition with a 1956 Foreward by Nathan Glazer.

Jencks, Christopher and others. Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effects of Family and Schooling in America. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

. . . According to Jensen's thesis, compensatory education has failed to decrease cognitive inequalities among children because (sic) genetic differences are very important in determining cognitive differences. Jencks' thesis is that those inequalities do not matter, because they are hardly related to adult achievements. Jencks found educational and cognitive differences among children to be largely a reflection of differences in "family background" (both genetic and environmental) and, as such, virtually irremediable. However, he also found that these inequalities do not account for the major differences in adult occupational status or income.

Everywhere Jencks looks he finds variation (inequality) and, despite appearances to the contrary, most variation occurs within, not between, social classes and racial groups . . . Jencks believes in reducing rather than redistributing inequalities, whether they be within or between groups, and the reduction of economic inequalities is a central theme of the book. . . The reduction of inequalities means that no one should end up very rich or very poor.

Because children can never have equal access to the genes and family environment that he finds account for most of their cognitive and educational differences, Jencks abandons striving for equal educational opportunities as the means of gaining greater economic equality. He accepts individual differences as the natural order -- but an order that does not necessitate extreme differences in rewards.

Based on the best available data — which are admittedly none too good in many areas — Jencks and his seven associates have synthesized a coherent set of conclusions. Briefly, these are:

· Cognitive skills, as measured by standardized tests, are unequally distributed. Both genetic and environmental inequalities play major roles in producing cognitive inequalities, and since genetic and environmental advantages tend to go together, these inequalities are further enhanced.

· Educational advantages, as measured by school resources, are quite unequally distributed and used by middle- and lower-class students, especially after . . . the age of 16. Differences in educational resources among schools contribute very little to differences in educational achievement, however, and differences in educational achievement contribute very little to differences in adult income and status.

· Occupational status is related to prior educational achievement, but income level is virtually independent of educational and cognitive achievements.

The obvious "existential perspectives" in the above material tend to vitiate the effectiveness of first-rate ethnographic data. I wish Rainwater would stop and explicitly organize and analyze those forces which play so important a role in his presentation. It would make for a less crude analysis with fewer inconsistencies and thus produce a more powerful argument. M. Estellie Smith Suny College

American Anthropologist v 75 April, 1973 p 549

Reid, Ira deA. In a Minor Key: Negro Youth in Story and Fact. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

It is difficult to read this book without seeing black — or red — and hard to comment upon it with the detached factuality which is supposed to characterize scholars. If one were going in for literary titles, he should have chosen "The Blot on the Scutcheon." I do not like the plaintive and appealing implication of the "minor key." The book makes me angry — and ashamed. One should use a crashing major chord to call attention to the disgraceful and dangerous conditions which the book so vividly portrays. However, Reid's technique is probably much more effective. He does not shout — but his facts do; he does not allow any virtue-and-vice words to mar the simple, straightforward — and terrible — stories he has to tell, but the result is a cumulative picture which should shock and shame all decent Americans into action to remedy these conditions which handicap one-tenth of our population and directly and indirectly damage the other nine-tenths.

The book is an excellent job of writing . . . It contains 13 chapters, soundly documented, with 12 pictographic and bar plates which dramatize the data. The book is pointed primarily at the problems of Negro youth, but the tragedy and injustice to all Negroes above and below the "youth" age (15-24) are presented by implication on every page. After an introductory chapter, "To Begin With," Reid first tells the "story" and then gives the "facts" dealing with vital statistics, the home, education, farming, industry, the professions, relief, recreation, religion, crime, legal discrimination, and concludes with "Planning for the Survivors." About the only light patches in this black picture, are the facts that recreation facilities for Negroes increased over 200 percent between 1925 and 1935, and philanthropy, which stuck at about $1,500,000 from 1921 to 1927, rose to over $4,500,000 in 1930 (though Negroes should have opportunity, not charity). Of course, there have been

marked improvements in Negro education, health, and professional training, in recent years, especially since the New Deal, but the differentials are still disheartening. The housing, working, legal, crime, and "unwritten law" discriminations are not much better, if not actually worse, than they used to be. There has been a marked decrease in lynching, but it is difficult to forgive otherwise civilized southern congressmen for their continued blocking of a federal anti-lynching law. In fact, it is hard to believe that southerns (and northerners) actually treat Negroes as they do — in this democratic Christian country which gets so righteously angry at the way the Nazis treat Jews and Belgians. The Nazis machine-gun them; we slowly kill them by starvation and disease — and destroy their self-respect and human potentialities.

The American Youth Commission — and Reid — deserve a great deal of credit for this dignified call to social action on a problem which certainly is one of our major national scandals. Read Bain Miami University

American Sociological Review v 5 October, 1940 p 786

Stack, Carol B. All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

Based on a three-year participant study of black ghetto life by an urban anthropologist. Stack's book describes strategies for survival in a community of severe deprivation. Kinship patterns and widespread networks of shared resources, as often intangible as material, are considered the counterpart of the secure jobs, savings, and insurance of the middle classes. Sensitively and professionally done, this study would make a fine reading in many courses dealing with such areas as the black urban poor and the family. This contribution from a female social scientist usefully complements the work of Liebow and Hannerz.

Social Forces v 53:2 December, 1974 p 373

Staples, Robert (ed.). The Black Family: Essays and Studies. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1971.

The focus of Staples' reader is upon the dynamics of black family life. Staples' selection of papers brings to the reader the feeling of looking into the black family in such a way that he gains some understanding of its psychosocial dimensions.

Staples' choice of topics is a comprehensive one. He looks first at the general setting of the black family including its historical background and the recent Moynihan controversy. Secondly, the dyad comes under study. In addition to the marital dyad, sex roles, sexual behavior, and premarital dating patterns are examined. The third section . . . specifically concerns the family . . . discussion of childbearing, socialization, parental roles, and youthful development. The final part of this volume examines problems experienced by black families. Interacial sex and marriage, socioeconomic adjustments and dilemmas, and family disorganization and reorganization.

There are introductions to each of the four main divisions of this reader. . . a plus point for the book because they provide transition between articles.

However, from the introduction to part three we also get an indication of the book's weakness: Staples' tendency to be polemical. His tone comes across as advocating black power rather than an increased knowledge of black family life.

Staples also casts a political shadow in his treatment of the Moynihan report. . . Staples does not attempt to present a balanced or an unbiased view on the controversy. . . Staples included an excerpt from Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie in this volume, but with scant comment. Yet this reading is as depressing as the Moynihan excerpt.

. . . Staples offers no suggestions. . . However, Staples has offered suggestions for dealing with another source and/or consequence of family disorganization. And, it is probably as relevant to the Moynihan question as poverty; preparation of the black adolescent male for the roles of husband and father. Staples reprinted his own article "Educating the Black Male at Various Class Levels for Marital Roles" in which he stresses the need for a premarital education program which will concentrate on two perspectives: (1) phenomena associated with one's class position; and (2) phenomena associated with one's racial or cultural affiliation. . . Staples then relates various problems of marital and family life to variations in these two perspectives. His main suggestion for educating the black male is an inculcation of pride in the African heritage of black Americans and a reminder of the patriarchy among African ancestors.

that boys of this class will not finish high school, that they will seek employment as unskilled workers, and, failing that, go on relief. John G. Van Deusen Hobart College

Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Scientists v 217 September, 1941 p 220

Valentine, Charles A. Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

. . . both deal with the problems of civil disorder and urban poverty; both are concerned with theory; both conduct a wide-ranging critique of current literature; both are rather thin essays which, while they certainly deserve publication, may not deserve hard covers.

[Georg Sorel's assertion that a class can be resurrected through violence is like Franz Fanon's argument for violence as group therapy.]

Bienen's paper must be viewed as an early attempt to comprehend the literature.

Valentine's work is more deserving and current. The work is a study of poverty theory rather than of the poverty problem itself. The author attacks the "culture of poverty" myth on the grounds that it is constructed by theorists who project their own middle-class bias. The myth focuses on the victim rather than on the social structure, postulating the existence of a self-perpetuating lower-class way of life, implying that people are poor because they like it that way. Valentine attacks the theory as it is used in such documents as the Moynihan Report, charging that such patronizing approaches undertake to combat poverty by changing the culture of the poor, rather than the fact of poorness itself. Valentine makes this point over and over again as he takes on the most celebrated commentators and students of the poverty problem.

Valentine argues that most information on the poor derives from policemen, judges, and welfare workers. These are the domestic American equivalent of colonial administrators and missionaries who by their very function are disqualified from accurately describing the indigenous lifeways of their subjects.

To counteract this bias, Valentine's prescription is for further ethnographic research on the poor — for more studies which seek to describe the culture world of the underprivileged according to its own internal logic and order. Valentine prefers to describe poverty as inequality and deprivation; and he delineates solutions in terms of

APPENDIX II

TOWARD REFLECTIVE ANALYSES OF BLACK FAMILIES

Jualynne Dodson, Editor
Ruth Dennis, Art Mathis, Harriete McAdoo

ATLANTA INVITATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

June 26, 1976

Sponsored By:
Atlanta University School of Social Work
Office of Child Development Grant #OHD-W-252 (75)

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EDITOR'S NOTES

In June 1972, Atlanta University School of Social Work received a three-year grant to explore the cultural stylizations of black children in order to discern implications for the child welfare system. The grant from the Office of Child Development was the culmination of the School's attempt to offer alternatives to the analytical perspectives which viewed black children and black people as pathological in their behavior. The Research Project, "Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare," was to identify expressive behavior of black school children and to explore the relationship of that behavior to a distinctive Afro-American socio-cultural experience. After a slow and somewhat misguided beginning, the Project completed the historical research necessary to fix contemporary expressive behavior into their Afro-American context. Using behavioral modes of music, language, food, dance, religion and display arts, the Project then gathered empirical data from Atlanta school children and situated them on a continuum of Afro-American expressive behavior. The Black Stylization research grounded the School of Social Work in historical and empirical understanding of Afro-American socio-cultural experience and, also, confronted us with the reality that little data existed which assumed the distinctive legitimacy and integrity of black life styles.

During the final year of research, the Office of Child Development called a meeting of University representatives to discuss issues concerning research comparableness. Representing the School of Social Work, I attended that meeting and carried with me concerns for the comparableness of data collection on black children's behavior from non-pathological perspectives. I had previously attended an OCD meeting of principal investigators involved in research on family issues. Discussions during both of these meetings crystallized my concern for conceptual perspectives which would provide non-deficit analysis of black families. To begin formulating such perspectives a research investigation was developed. The project proposed that a small group of research scholars spend time conceptualizing theoretical necessities of an analytical perspective which reflected the total reality of black family life. In addition, the group was to utilize its "reflective" conceptualization to propose a research agenda which could provide comparableness of further research in the area. In June 1975, the Office of Child Development funded the proposal, and Art Mathis, Ruth Dennis, Harriette McAdoo, Wade Nobles and myself were identified as the working group.

One product of the group's activities was to be a publication of our conceptualizations. Toward that goal the Institute of the

Black World (IBW) contracted to serve as editorial and publishing consultant. In November the group gathered in Unicoi, Georgia to begin the working sessions. It developed that Wade Nobles of the Community Mental Health Center of San Francisco would not be able to participate in the group's activities. Fortunately, IBW had assigned Howard Dodson, a trained historian, to work with us. His continued involvement proved to be an invaluable contribution and we accepted him as the fifth participating scholar.

The following presentation is the product of the Reflective Analyses Research Group's year of conceptual activity. It is, also, the edited comments and critiques of the participants at the Atlanta Invitational Symposium which was sponsored by the Group. The combination of our ideas on reflective analyses of black families plus the discussants' critique provide a monograph which we hope will produce controversy and research. Controversy because people will find the conceptualizations stimulating enough to extend them; either in the direction we propose or elsewhere toward truth. We hope the monograph stimulates research because the search for empirical truths which foster reflective theoretical clarification of black family life is sorely needed. Towards both ends, we present out thoughts!

The presentation is divided into five parts: preface; introduction and demographic characteristics of the black population; contrasting approaches to the study of black families; toward reflective analyses of black families; and comments and

critiques. The latter is the edited presentation of identified discussants at the Invitational Symposium. Demographic data were developed by Ruth Dennis of Meharry Medical College. Art Mathis, also of Meharry, produced our conceptualization of contrasting approaches to black family studies. The articulation of the Group's position regarding socialization in black families was pulled together by Harriette McAdoo of Howard University. The Institute of the Black World, through Howard Dodson, provided constant editorial input and is responsible for publishing the monograph. Needless to say, this has been and is a collaborative endeavor.

Jualynne Dodson
Project Director

INTRODUCTION

The objective of the Reflective Analyses Research Group has been to begin hammering out a conceptual frame of reference for exploring black families within contemporary American society. To begin this task we focused our attentions on socialization, as one of the more salient functions of family. Socialization brings the individual, the group and the society together in one dynamic process. We felt that if we could begin to identify an approach for developing an analytical framework for socialization and black families, an approach which could 'reflect' the full dynamism of that processual reality, we would indeed be moving "Toward Reflective Analyses of Black Families."

One of the many constraints our group has had to confront is that of existing knowledge pools which can operate as barriers to new conceptualizations. We propose that any move toward under-

standing socialization and black people in the United States must minimally assume a dual conceptualization of functionality and/or dysfunctionality as behavioral products of the child-rearing process. However, this proposition is not contrapositive nor systems maintaining as some existing ideas of duality and functionality/dysfunctionality would suggest. We are neither suggesting behavioral schizophrenia as the product of black family socialization. Instead, we see the environmental realities of black life in American as so antithetical to qualitative human survival and evolution, that for black people to exist, cope and prevail requires their mastering a wide range of social behaviors.

Neither the behavioral range nor any of its points are a priori linear, static or interpretatively singular. Specific behavior, and the range itself, is more complex than linear, static or singularity in interpretive conceptualization could accomodate. Definition of the complexity is embedded in the environmental reality which is black life style in the United States. To begin to propose a frame of reference for the development of reflective analyses of black families, we feel it is mandatory to conceptualize the behavioral products of the child-rearing process within the complexity of their realities. Minimally we suggest that is a dual conceptualization of functionality and/or dysfunctionality.

It is almost without saying that if socialization outcomes must minimally be viewed in the contextual duality of functionality/

dysfunctioality, then the process also contains a combination of components. Heretoforth, most studies of black families, particularly socialization and black families, have not conceptualized duality in process and duality in functional/dysfunctional outcomes. Scholars have tended to either propose deficit/pathological outcomes and their antecedent socialization components, or have professed the 'strengths' of black families. We propose that a 'reflective' analysis of black family socialization must return a true image of that real life process, as well as analyze it from the contextual boundaries in which it exists. Consequently, we maintain that such an analytical perspective would have room for the strength and vigorousness, as well as the pathologies and deficits, which are the real life outcomes of socialization for black Americans.

With remarkable convergence, the dialectical method of historical materialism continued to provide clarity for socio-economic and political environmental influences on black family socialization. The pervasive state of oppression in which black Americans exist is realistically antithetical to American professed ideals, the life styles of most whites and concepts of humane existence. Whereas we would propose the utilization of the methodology, we are aware of pitfalls holistic adoption of paradigms not adjusted to the realities of those in question. Similarily, because American intellectual familiarity with the dialectical process is too often mechanistic, we do not feel free enough from such educational baggage to innovatively employ the method. We propose, therefore, that our conceptuali-

zation of a frame of reference for reflectively exploring contemporary black family life will often incorporate a dialectical perspective of that reality. We shall be clear in our delineation of the environmental oppression which mandates contextual functionality/dysfunctionality.

Any attempt to direct the conceptualization of theoretical postulations must begin with an understanding of terms. We are no exception. In very simplistic fashion, we see family as the domestic unit of conjugal and/or kinship ties.

Socialization is the process by which individuals learn and assume the behaviors and attitudes of a given society or social group which makes them operational within that society or group. Within this process, there are socialization agents. These are groups, individuals, organizations and/or institutions who plan and initiate involvement in the social learning process of humans.

Though it may be presumptuous or unnecessary on our part, we define black people as persons who are of black African ancestry, who possess physically Negroid features, who personally identify as black, and/or who are so defined by the society. Since as a group, Afro-Americans are more than a biological or sociological phenomena, it would take at least three of the four criteria variables for an individual to be classified as black.

In order for the Reflective Analyses Group to place its conceptualization of black family socialization into proper context, it was necessary to develop a demographic understand-

ing of the black population in the United States, as well as to understand approaches used by other who studied black family life. We begin with the former.

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Several books and articles describe some aspect of the black population and the black family (Willie, 1970; Hill, 1972; Daedalus, 94:4, 1965), but many characteristics of this population, as with other groups, are undergoing continued change. The need is for constant monitoring of changes in population characteristics of black people in order to fully comprehend, among other things, progress toward equitable benefits from the American society. At this point, we would like to examine some of the demographic factors that are generally agreed to be affecting size, distribution and composition of the black population. Further, we will examine some socio-economic factors affecting the group. The frame of reference for this examina-

tion will be the white population, a perspective taken to more clearly demonstrate that there are demographic realities common to black Americans which are not generally shared by the white population. The existence of these different material realities for black families become the foundation upon which the duality of functional/dysfunctional socialization is built.

According to 1974 statistics, the estimated population of the United States is about 210 million persons (209,689,000) (United States Bureau of the Census, 1974). Over eleven percent of that total, more than 23 million, are black. The number of black individuals in each state ranges from 37 percent (Mississippi), to less than one percent in several states. Fifty-three percent of the black population is female and 47 percent is male, giving a male-female ratio of 90:100. This compares with a 95:100 male female ratio for the white population. The ratio of females to males is higher in the black population than any other group of this country.

The 1970 census data show that the black population is relatively young, with a median age of 22.3 years, as compared to 28.9 years for white Americans. Forty-two percent of the black population is children under age 18, as compared to thirty-three percent of the white population under 18. The percent of persons over 65 is less (7.0) for blacks than it is for whites (10.3). However, the dependency ratio for blacks over 65 is greater (97:100) than for whites (77:100). Since 1940, increase

in the overall black population has been less than two percent (1.8). This reflects a decrease in the birth rate and an increase in the mortality rate since the late 1950's, especially in the 15-30 age group.

Family Characteristics

The 1970 United States Census reported that there were 4,863,401 black families in this country. In 1975 it was estimated that there were over 5 million black families, comprising about nine and a half percent of all families in the United States. An estimated 89.6 percent of all black persons are in some kind of family structure, leaving about 10.4 percent in other arrangements such as domitories, jails or institutions.

Only twenty-seven percent of all black families are headed by females, with thirty-two percent of total black families headed by one parent. Of the one parent families, 85 percent are headed by females and 15 percent by males. Sixty-six percent of the female-headed families have children under 18 years and thirty-one percent have children under six years. Forty-three percent of the male heads of household have children under 18 and sixteen percent have children under six.

About sixty-seven percent (66.8) of black families with children under eighteen contained both parents, compared to 90.3 percent for white two-parent families. Seventy percent of black two-parent families had children under six years of age. Nearly forty-eight percent of the wives in husband-wife black families are employed and 29.3 percent of these women have children under six year.

The median education level for black heads of family was 10 years, however, 17.4 percent of the family heads completed high school. Almost half of the black American population completed only an eighth grade education. Ten percent of this group had 13 or more years of schooling. The median education level for white family heads was 12.1 years, while 51 percent completed high school. Blacks appear to have progressed in the area of education, since the median education level increased from about 6 years in 1940 to 10 years in 1970.

Economic Characteristics

Unemployment rates since 1950 have risen to twice as high or more for blacks as for whites. About one-fourth of non-white males were reported as actually not seeking employment in 1970 for such reasons as discouragement by the job market, personal factors, education, etc. Of those seeking employment, non-white males had an unemployment rate of 10 percent as compared to 5 percent of whites in 1974 (United States Bureau of the Census, 1974). For non-whites and whites these rates increased to 14 percent and 8 percent, respectively. The employment picture is even more severe for young blacks under 20. Their unemployment rate is 15.1. As would be expected, the unemployment rate for female-headed families is higher than that of husband-wife headed families. The rate for husband-wife families and female-headed families in 1974 and 1975 increased from 2.8 to 6.0 and 6.4 to 10.0, respectively.

Blacks in the labor force comprise a greater percentage of service workers than other groups, i.e., whites of Spanish-speaking Americans. However, within the black population the greatest percentage of workers are blue collar (42.1 percent), and so the larger concentration of black workers in the service class probably reflects the number of females working in this category.

The median income of black families in the United States in 1970 was $6,063. This figure increased to $7,269 by 1973. In 1970, the median income for black male heads of household was $9,549. However, the median income for black female heads of household was less than half that amount, or $4,226. This means that about one half of black families with female heads had income below the poverty level.

Poverty level income is a fact of life for all too many black families: about thirty percent had a median income of less than poverty level. Income in urban areas was higher than in rural. In 1970, 34.8 percent of persons in rural areas had incomes below the poverty level. As with other categories, the black elderly (65 and over) was also a low income group. Thirty-nine percent of this group had an income below the poverty level.

85.7 percent of black families earned their income from wages or salaries with a mean wage and salary of $7,149. Only 17.6 percent were receiving some public assistance or welfare. These forms supplied a mean income of $1,423 to 854,413 families, or 17.6 percent of all black families.

Cities showing 50 or more percent increase in their black populations are Milwaukee, Boston, Dallas, New York, Newark, Washington, D. C., Oakland, and Houston (Table I). Kansas City,

Missouri and Norfolk showed a substantial decrease in their black population between 1960 and 1970. Birmingham toc showed a slight decrease in the black population during this time period. All other cities showed increases ranging from 3 percent for Mobile to 68 percent for Milwaukee.

Brief Regional Description

The bureau of the Census has divided the country into four main regions and eight sub-regions (See Figure 1):

NORTHEAST	NORTH CENTRAL	SOUTH	WEST
New England	West North Central	East South Central	Mountain
MMddle Atlantic	East North Central	West South Central	Pacific

Given these regional divisions, the demographic realities of black families are quite informative. Tables 2 and 3 set out some of these data by region. The regional data as summarized in this section is taken from the 1970 United States Census data.

Northeast: The northeast region of the country ranks third in population. Black family size also ranks third behind the southern and north central regions. The black population is generally older than in other regions, with a median age of 23.9. Female head of household ratio in the northeast, forty-six percent, is highest of all the regions. Compared to whites, the median income level of black family heads is lower. Tbe male-female ratio for blacks in the northeast is lowest of all the regions at 86:100. This higher proportion of females in the area may account in part for the low median income.

BLACK POPULATION FOR SPECIFIED CITIES
1960 AND 1970

City	Black Population 1960	1970	National Rank 1960	1970	Percent Change 1960 to 1970
New York	1,087,931	1,668,150	1	1	53
Chicago	81[illegible],637	1,102,620	2	2	35
Philadelphia	529,240	653,791	3	4	23
Detroit	482,223	660,428	4	3	37
Washington, D.C.	411,737	537,712	5	5	31
Los Angeles	334,916	503,606	6	6	50
Baltimore	325,589	420,210	7	7	29
Cleveland	250,818	287,811	8	9	15
New Orlears	233,514	267,308	9	10	14
Houston	215,037	316,551	10	8	47
St. Louis	214,377	254,191	11	12	19
Atlanta	186,464	255,051	12	11	37
Memphis	184,320	242,513	13	13	32
Newark	138,035	207,458	14	14	50
Birmingham	135,113	126,388	15	17	06
Dallas	129,242	210,238	16	15	62
Cincinnati	108,754	125,070	17	18	15
Pittsburgh	100,692	104,904	18	22	04
Indianapolis	98,049	134,320	19	16	37
Richmond	91,972	104,766	20	23	14
Oakland	83,618	124,710	21	19	49
Kansas City, Mo.	83,146	34,345	22	33	59
Jacksonville	82,525	118,158	23	20	43
Norfolk	78,806	27,261	24	34	65
Columbus	77,140	99,627	25	25	29
San Francisco	74,383	96,078	26	26	29
Buffalo	70,904	94,329	27	27	33
Louisville	79,075	86,040	28	30	23
Gary	69,123	92,695	29	28	34
Mobile	65,619	67,356	30	31	03
Miami	65,213	76,156	31	32	17
Nashville	64,570	87,596	32	29	36
Boston	63,165	104,707	33	24	66
Milwaukee	62,458	105,088	34	21	68

Source: Bureau of the Census, United States Summary, 1960 and 1970 Census of the Population, Characteristics of the Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

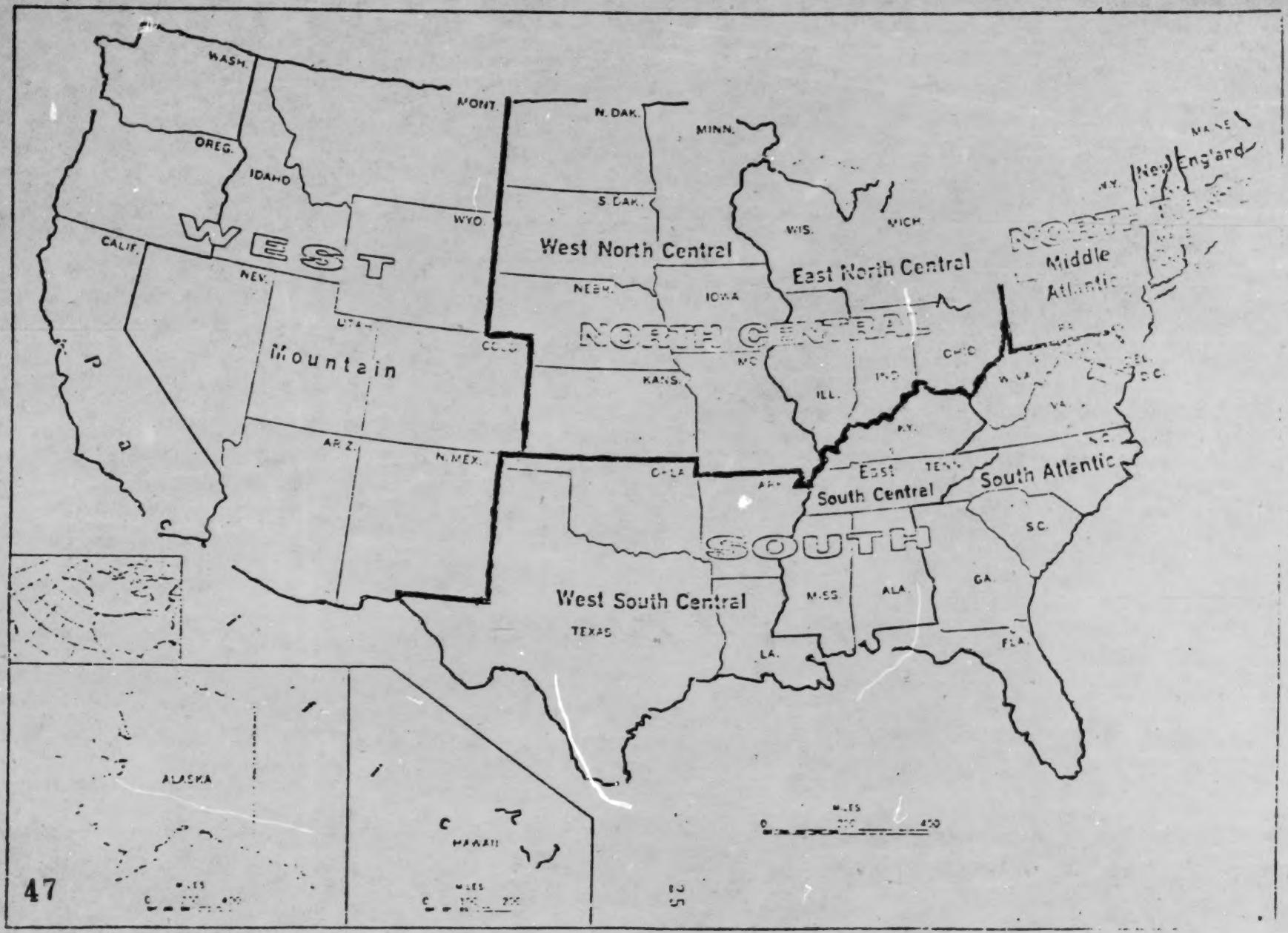
North Central: The north central region has undergone the greatest population change since 1940. The percent of population increase for blacks in this region since 1940 was 4.4. Most of this increase was from the rural south to urban areas. The north central region more closely resembles the south in education, median age and family size characteristics than any of the other regions. That most of the blacks in this region misgrated from the south may account in part for this resemblance.

The north central region also saw more industrial and technological growth. The median income for blacks, at $8,444, is higher than in other regions, despite the fact that unemployment is higher in this region.

South: The southern region of the United States still occupies the number one position as regards the number of blacks. Fifty-three percent of black people in this country live in the south. Further, 51.4 percent of all black families live in this region. More than half of the black population of the south lives in the south atlantic sub-region (See Figure 1). However, the state of Texas (west south central sub-region) has the largest black population of any single state in the south. Some characteristics of the south as compared to other regions are:

The largest family size (4.3)

The youngest median age (21.4)


WASH.
OREG.
IDAHO
MONT.
WYO.
CALIF.
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UTAH
COLO.
ARIZ.
N. MEX.
WEST
Mountain
Pacific
N. DAK.
S. DAK.
NEBR.
KANS.
OKLA.
TEXAS
West North Central
West South Central
MINN.
IOWA
MO.
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S.C.
N.C.
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W. VA.
PA.
N.Y.
MD.
DEL.
N.J.
D.C.
MASS.
MAINE
New England
Middle Atlantic
East North Central
East South Central
South Atlantic
NORTH CENTRAL
SOUTH
ALASKA
HAWAII
MILES
0
400

47

48

-14-

TABLE 2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA BY REGION, RACE AND SEX, 1970

	NORTHEAST	NORTHCENTRAL	SOUTH	WEST
Median Income				
Individual				
White				
Male	$7262	$7150	$5811	$7072
Female	2589	2206	2282	2470
Black				
Male	5466	5705	3241	5077
Female	3046	2589	1550	2687
Head of Family				
White				
Male	12561	11765	9983	12208
Female	7074	6616	5176	6296
Black				
Male	9567	9782	6622	9565
Female	5080	4833	3730	4669
Percent Unemployment				
White				
Male	3.5	3.7	3.3	5.8
Female	4.5	5.0	5.0	6.7
Black				
Male	6.0	7.8	5.3	10.3
Female	6.0	8.7	7.8	9.6
Median School Years Complete				
White				
Male	12.0	12.0	11.1	12.3
Female	12.1	12.1	11.3	12.2
Black				
Male	10.5	10.4	9.0	11.6
Female	10.9	10.9	9.7	11.8

Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970 Social and Economic Characteristics.

The highest dependency ratio (110)

The lowest median education level (8.8)

The lowest median income ($5,863)

Employment status is higher than any other region.

TABLE 3

POPULATION DATA BY REGION, RACE AND SEX, 1970

	NORTHEAST	NORTH CENTRAL	SOUTH	WEST
Population Percent Black	8.8	8.1	19.0	4.8
Percent of Black Families	7.9	7.1	15.7	4.3
Male/Female ratio	87	91	91	97
Median Age				
White				
Male	27.0	26.3	26.9	25.7
Female	29.6	28.4	29.5	27.4
Black				
Male	21.6	21.3	20.1	22.1
Female	24.9	23.4	23.1	23.3
Population Percent Black Children	40.0	42.1	43.0	41.2

Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1970 Detailed Characteristics.

West: Since 1940, the western region has represented a new frontier for black Americans. In 1940 there were only about 200 thousand blacks in this region but by 1960, this number had changed to nearly 1,700 thousands. Forty-three percent of blacks living in the west are located in Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco. The region's black population is further characterized by having the highest education level and lowest family size of all the regions. The population of black persons sixty-five and over is almost twice

the population of blacks under eighteen. The dependency ratio for the west is far less than the other three regions. Also, the male-female ratio is higher than the other regions (95:100).

SUMMARY

This brief analysis of the black population shows that though some demographic characteristics have changed, generally they are following a pattern set forth earlier in American history, i.e, black families continue to labor against two major delimiting curcumstances - being poor and being black. As they attempt to realize benefits this society offers its white citizens, the material environmental realities of the majority of the black population is synonymous with being poor.

Data show that low income correlates with a high concentration of black people, e.g., Mississippi, Texas. While the educational gap between blacks and whites is narrowing, the gap in income level is widening. This suggests that blackness,

not education, is significant in the pursuit of societal returns. The socialization consequences of these statistical realities are clear. Though black families may be educationally informed, the material resources available for the socialization process are reduced. Black families must employ these minimal resources in effectuating a socialization process and product which allows individuals to function within the two American realities - a white reality of consistent plenty and a black reality of fluctuating scarcity.

CONTRASTING APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF BLACK FAMILIES

Marriage and family in all known societies are, by and large, culturally determined social processes. Obviously in both marital organization and family structure, variations exist between different cultural groups. However, a large degree of similarity also exists in social customs regarding marriage and family for different groups. This apparent paradox indicates that such biosocial behavior is influenced, partially, by the demands of environmental situations or conditions, and are limited geometrically to types of marital and familial arrangements. Thus, most societies are either endogamous, exogamous, or both; similarly, marriages are usually

either polygamous or monogamous. These broad anthropological categories of cultural practices often overlook many of the social dynamics of individual cultures but, they do point to similarities that exist between groups that have had no contact with one another.[1] In this regard, we see both marriage and family[2] as universal human qualities that are manifested in one form or another, regardless of legal or social customs. Our purpose here is to examine major conceptualizations of the black family in American society in an effort to give continuity to our ideas on a frame of reference which can lead to more reflective analysis.

We have categorized studies on the black family into two broad schools of thought. The first school, which views the black family as a product of the American culture, we refer to as an American dilemma. The second school of thought is referred to as the cultural relativity model and sees the black family as being more or less culturally functional and independent of the dominant expression. Emerging views from this approach focus more upon cultural strengths than cultural weaknesses. The literature reflects several consistent themes which permeate both schools of thought, however, and we will discuss these before proceeding with arguments and empirical findings supporting each.

There is considerable controversy concerning the ability of non-white Americans to maintain marital and familial relations. Particularily, there are a large number of studies underscoring the dysfunctionality of black families. In-

herent in this dychotomous conceptualization of functional versus dysfunctional is an implicit assumption regarding normative (modal) families. The belief that a statistical model of the American family can be identified, to which all families can be compared, is mythical at best. Further, such an assumption contradicts the ideals of a democratic society and the realities of a culturally plural one.

The dysfunctional polar view of black families has been primarily related to the cultural homogeneity approach and associated with the work of E. Franklin Frazier (1939)[4] and Daniel P. Moynihan (1966). The works of these scholars have culminated in the adapation of social policies which regard the black family as unstable, disorganized, and unable to provide its members with the social and psychological support and development needed to assimilate fully into the American society.

The cultural relativistic view, primarily in reaction to the above, advocates that the black family is a functional entity. This conceptualization is largely supported by Andrew Billingsley (1968), Virginia Young (1970), Robert Hill (1972), Wade Nobles (1974), and others. The perspective has been buttressed with old and new investigations which see black Americans' culture as different from whites (Valentine, 1968; Young, 1974) and possibly related to their African heritage (Herskovits, 1941; Nobles, 1972). Although not all proponents of the cultural relativistic school agree on the influence of African culture to the culture of black Americans, they do concur that black

cultural orientation encourages family patterns that are instrumental in combating the oppressive, racial conditions of the American society.

Finally, underlying the theoretical and empirical arguments of the two schools is the common assumption that black families differ qualitatively from white families. These views, however, diverge from each other in their inerpretation and explanation of such differences. A major obstacle in any synthesis of the various conceptualization is the argument that the American culture is largely homogeneous in nature as opposed to heterogeneous. This argument has been contaminated with studies emphasizing social class as the major contributing factor for racial differences in family. Interestingly, one of the first scholars of the black family, W.E.B. Du Bois, predicted that the problem of the Twentieth Century would be race (Du Bois, 1903). Then Du Bois spent most of his productive years studying social class. The emphasis on social class has led to Marxist type models involving conflict and oppression of black families within the American society. However, social class has been employed more extensively by prophylactic apologists of American democracy in explaining the failure of blacks to assimilate completely into mainstream culture.

An American Dilemma: Cultural Homogeneity

The question of possible African cultural transferences to the New World is focused on the slavery period. Frazier (1949) asserts vehemently that as "a result of the manner the Negro was

enslaved, the Negro's African cultural heritage has had practically no effect on the evolution of his family in the United States" (p. 66). His opinion concurs with U. B. Phillips (1929) and Stanley Elkins (1959), who believed that all significant African cultural traits, such as names and folklore, did survive initially but were eventually lost or distorted from their original form. Accordingly, Uncle Remus stories were altered to reflect the new animals and surroundings of the storytellers (Phillips, 1929, p. 195). If the culture of the African slaves was destroyed, then it is hopeless to expect that evolution of the black family was influenced by culture carry-over. So runs the logic of the American Dilemma School.

In discussing marital patterns, Phillips (1929) and Elkins (1959) point out that early American laws did not encourage marriage between slaves, even though marriages did take place. In most instances, marriage was under the control of plantation owners who differed widley in their attitudes about such relationships. Some owners insisted upon Christian marriages, while others allowed a wider range of slave mating patterns. In many cases, mating was encouraged solely for the purpose of commercial profit.

The status of the black family during slavery was also controlled by the plantation owners. If a family arrangment proved unproductive in offspring, some slave owners would match the couple, usually the woman, with other mates. Additionally, slave families were frequently broken and sold individually. In spite

of the slaves' unstable formal or legal marital and familial life, many believe that blacks accepted and attempted to conform to the social norms of the New World.

It is partially believed that slaves were forced to pattern their desire for marriage and family after the dominant culture, given the unavailability of other alternatives in the situation. Frazier (1949) saw the black family assimilating in to the dominant American institution as part of its evolution from slavery. According to Phillips (1929), polygamous types of mating behavior were permitted primarily for breeding purposes on some plantations. But most marital arrangements, when permitted, were monogamous, patterned after norms of the dominant culture. Fogel and Engerman (1975) reported that the average slave's family was a nucleus institution not very different from whites. In all, these investigators are contending that American culture, not "Africana,"[6] influences black family patterns and life in a determining manner. They expound that there were no influencing "Africana" aspects to the nature of black family life in the United States.

Following slavery the institutionalization of the black family as part of the American society has been scarred by conditions of injustice and inhumanity. Not surprisingly, many investigators have selectively focused upon the relationship between social conditions and black family function. Often times than not, their results have indicated that, structurally, and functionally, the black family is characterized by social pathology and disorganization.

The cultural assimilation of the black family in the United States has been extensively studied by E. Franklin Frazier (1894-1962). It is important to note that Frazier's works, according to Lyman (1972), were influenced by his determination: a) to refute the argument of Melville Herskovits that much of black life is a continuation of African culture, and b) to empirically demonstrate the race-relations cycle of Robert E. Park. Frazier believed that the origin and development of the black family were consequences of slavery and the American culture, not of African cultural forms. He did not accept Herskovits' conclusion that black family structure, marital customs, and sexual practices were derived from African cultures. Frazier interpreted indiscriminate and extra-marital sexual behavior among blacks as being unrelated to traditional polygamous African cultures. And, since he did not believe that slavery supported black male dominance, he did not see the matrifocal family as a carry-over from African cultures (Frazier, 1939).

Frazier viewed blacks as an assimilation oriented minority who were following the race cyle as predicted and outlined by Park (1950). In his study of blacks living in Chicago and New York, Frazier (1932; 1937) found that, as they moved outward from the inner city, the black families appeared more culturally and physically (i.e., based upon the proportion of interracial marriages) assimilated. It was his faithfulness to Park's race-relations cycle which seemingly motivated Frazier to interpret black masses as assimilative and to ignore evidence to the contrary, e.g., the widespread support for Marcus Garvey's

Universal Negro Improvement Association (See Cronon, 1964). Although the race-relations cycle has yet to be empirically validated, Frazier earned the attempted to do so. It is, in a sense, a tragic conclusion to his intellectual fervor that he was forced to observe in one of his last books, Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States (1957), that when blacks achieve "middle-class status their lives generally lose both content and significant" (p. 238).

The line of research as pursued by Frazier was followed by a number of investigators and culminated in proposals for social policy. In 1965, the Office of Policy Planning and Research of the United States Department of Labor issued a 78 page document, prepared by the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Daniel P. Moynihan, under the title, The Negro Family - The Case for National Action. This report repeatedly cited Frazier as support for its conclusions that the black community was characterized by broken families, illegitimacy, matriarchy, economic dependency, failure to pass armed forces entrance tests, delinquency, and crime. Moynihan placed the cause of these problems on a supposedly broken and unstable black family. Following his trend-making step, other investigators began to concentrate on the pathologies of black families.

In 1966, Elliot Liebow conducted a participant observation study of 24 street corner black men. He concluded that the men had internalized the American norms for family roles, but that the oppressive conditions of their societal environment prevented their fulfilling these expectations. Lee Rainwater (1968),

psychological adjustment, and were less concerned about goals for a hypothetical child. It was suggested that children raised in female-headed households would not have the psychological support of their mothers. Such research advances the argument that matriarchy and female-headed households are pathological and undermine and male-female relationship in the family (Blood and Wolfe, 1969; Duncan and Duncan, 1969; Bracey, et. al., 1971; Parker and Kleiner, 1969).

Other investigators have reported that the data supporting Moynihan's matriarchal concept are in conclusive (Hyman and Reed, 1969). Investigators who focused on the validity of the female role in the black family, in general, have concluded that matrifocal families are not produced by values of the black community but by structural factors in the society which necessitate males frequently abandoning their roles (Yancey, 1972; Staples, 1972). Tenhouten (1970) was unable to substantiate the dominant role attributed to black mothers as implied in the Moynihan Report. Further, King (1967; 1969) found that, though it had been implied earlier, black fathers were not perceived by their children as passive in decision making, and black mothers were perceived as less dominant as earlier reported. Delores Mack (1971) examined social class and racial differences in the distribution of power attributable to race. And Heiss (1972) found that instability in the black family does not necessarily lead to instability in future generations. As Scanzoni (1971)

observed, parents often want to be better off than their own parents. Nevertheless, research which emphasized weakness in the black family became standardized in text books (Peters, 1974).

Studies which concentrated on disorganization have deduced that the typical black family is fatherless, on welfare, thriftless, and over-populated with illegitimate children. Inevitably, they have recommended economic reforms for "saving" black families from their own pathology (Moynihan, 1965; Rainwater, 1965; Rodman, 1968; and others). However, Andrew Billingsley (1968) challenged this sterotype, pointing out that two-thirds of black families living in metropolitan areas are headed by husbands with their wives: Half have managed to pull themselves into the middle-class and nine-tenths are self-supporting.

A chain-reaction of scholars noted that the Moynihan Report had generated research which did not recognize the inherent strengths operating in the black family, in spite of its oppressive social conditions. Scanzoni (1971) conducted an extensive study involving more than 400 intact black families who had been married for at least five years. He found that working-class and middle-class families had strong father figures who shared decision making responsibilities with their wives. Hill (1972), also responding to the preoccupation with the black family as a pathological institution, statistically demonstrated that the majority of black families could be characterized by strong kinship bonds, work ethics, achievement, and adaptability of roles.

The African Dilemma: Cultural Relativity

American studies of the black family, and of blacks in general, have long ignored the works of Melville Herskovits (1895-1963), one of the first scholars to recognize similarities in African cultural patterns with those of African descendants living in the United States, the West Indies, and Brazil. Herskovits (1966) found what he considered to be authentic African cultural patterns reflected in language, music, art, house structure, dance, traditional religion, and healing practices. To many students of the black family, Herskovits' research raises the possibility that other aspects of "Africana" could have influenced the nature of the black family in the United States. To our knowledge, Herskovits' works deal only limitedly with such possible relations (See Frazier, 1939). However, one of his major contributions was a truer conceptualization of family life in traditional African societies; characterized by unity, stability, and security (Herskovits, 1938).

Other writers have since re-examined the unity and stability of African families for the purpose of refuting any assertion that chaos and problems of African families paralleled the problems of contemporary black American families. From such studies, Billingsley (1968) concluded:

> Thus the men and woman who were taken as slaves to the New World came from societies every bit as civilized and "respectable" as those of the Old World settlers who mastered them. But the two were very different types of society [sic], for the African family was much more closely integrated

with the wider levels of kinship and society... p. 48).

As regards the American black family, opponents of cultural homogeneity in North America point out that slavery did not totally destroy the traditional African base of black family functioning (Blassingame, 1972; Nobles, 1972; Turnbull, 1976). To these scholars, the black family represents a continuing fountain of strength and endurance built upon and issuing from its African cultural heritage.

The field research of Young (1970) reflects that blacks are not versions of white American culture, "improverished by lack of access to many of the rewards of American culture" (p. 269). Her research found southern rural black families to be culturally distinct from white families and demonstrating retention of African forms. This closely paralleled Herskovits' (1941) contentions. Her findings were especially supportive in the areas of interpersonal behavior and deep level communication.

Similar to Charles Johnson (1941) and Hortense Powdermaker (1939), but contrary to Frazier (1941) and Moynihan (1965), Young did not find black families disorganized or dysfunctional. Young observed patterns of high illegitimacy rates and frequent marital dissolutions which are usually associated with disorganization; however, she interpreted these patterns as natural to the emotional under-pinnings of the family system and, thus, functional.

Nobles (1974) has indicated that the black community is oriented primarily toward extended families, in that most black family structures involve a system of kinship ties. This idea has

been supported by Hayes and Mendel (1973), Billingsley (1968), Hill (1972), Stack (1974), and others. The extended family system is assumed to provide support for family members, either as assistance for protection or for mobility. It is argued that extended family in the black community not only consists of conjugal and blood relatives, but non-relatives as well. Additionally, the prevalence of extended families, as compared with nuclear families, is held as another cultural pattern which identifies differences between whites and blacks. The extent to which such families are characteristic of the black community has not been adequately substantiated, however.

Hayes and Mendel (1973) demonstrated that the extended family is a more prominent structure for black families and that blacks differ from whites in intensity and extent of family interaction. Their study on mid-western urban families, however, included a sample of only 25 complete and incomplete black and white families. The findings show that, with the exception of parents, blacks interact with more of their kin than whites. Black families also receive more help from kin and have a greater number and more diversified types of relatives living with them than do white families. It is suggested by Hayes and Mendel that minority status in a hostile society strengthens kinship ties.

In a related study, Dubey (1971) examined the relationship between self-alienation and extended family using black, white and Puerto Rican subjects. His data supported the hypothesis that subjects with a high degree of powerlessness were significantly more oriented toward extended family. Dubey's study

raises the question of [illegible] extended family is used as a buffer between oppression [illegible] dominant society and unmet needs of the family. Stack (1974) proposed that the extended family is, in part, a strategy for meeting physical, emotional, and economic needs of black families, and involves a reciprocal network of sharing to counter the lack of economic resources.

Nobles (1974) believes that the black kinship pattern was derived from African cultures not destroyed either in the "Middle Passage" or in slavery; suggesting that perhaps the survival of "Africana" among black American families is not as remote as Elkins (1959), and Frazier (1939) has argued. Blassingame (1972) stated that not only did African cultural patterns survive American slavery, but new forms, unique to black Americans, were created. Even Frazier (1963) has noted indisputable non-western religious practices in the black church. A more recent advocate of this view, Colin Turnbull (1976), sums the rebuttal more succinctly when he concluded that "[T]he slaves who were exported to the Americas were Africans before they were slaves and Africans afterwards, and <u>their descendants are still Africans today</u>" (our emphasis p. 242).

It is interesting to note, according to Turnbull, that in some cases African cultural patterns were developed and preserved in the Western Hemisphere and lost in Africa. A case in point is Surinam (South America), where slaves escaped and recovered their independence. Although some of the ethnic cultures resemble original African cultures, Turnbull cautions that the Surinam

cultures (comprising six "tribal" groups) could not have remained in isolation; comparisions are thus not necessarily conclusive.

With the exception of clearly identifiable African cultural patterns in islands along the Georgia coast, Turnbull (1976) states that the splinting of ethnic clans during slavery, along with enforced acceptance of language and Western values, did much to repress African cultures in the United States. Nevertheless, he points out:

> ...the conversion of the slaves to Christianity...made an enormous difference to the slaves, who suddenly found themselves repossessed of an old, familiar source of unity - a unity that transcended all familial divisions and that was able to thrive and bind the slaves together despite the fact that the family could not exist, in many cases, as a viable social and biological unit...And although the new religion was foreign, a white man's religion, what the slaves made of it was very African, as the Black American church today continues to demonstrate (pp. 247-248).

A model which may prove useful for a further understanding of the New World "Africana" culture and black American families has been developed by M. C. Smith (1962). Equally important to the clarification of these issues is the work currently being conducted by Nobles (Note 1) on African orientations in American families. However, we must await further study from the cultural relativistic perspective before determining the cultural origin of black family life.

Two points must be made when assuming African cultural influences in the contemporary American society. First, black Americans came from a myriad of African societies. Most American slaves were from West Africa, where the number of different cultural groups existing in the region is not known (Elkins, 1959). This is not an insurmountable problem according to Herskovits (1966), but the number of cultures is considerable. Billingsley (1968) notes that, at the time of the slave trade, traditional African societies even had different marital and family customs. Both monogamy and polygamy were widespread throughout the area, as well as endogamy and exogamy.

The second point to keep in perspective is that although cultures can be isolated from one another, they can still share similar marital and family customs, since these are not always and entirely culturally determined (Harris, 1971). Extended families, for example, have been observed in a wide range of cultures (See Burgess, Locke, Thomas, 1963; and Harris, 1971).

More than the second school of thought regarding black families in the United States, the cultural homogeneity school has produced an abundant amount of research concerning the social and psychological effects of the black family on its members. Research has been conducted over three broad areas: social adjustment, personality development, and motivation and achievement. In these investigations, researchers have relied heavily on clinical reports and personality assessments for arriving at conclusions. They also have attempted to conceptualize the

black family according to mythical models of the white middle-class family. This has resulted in two theoretical models of the black family and black culture. First is that the black family is culturally deprived. Such a frame of reference has led some writers to infer that black children are deprived of adequate socialization experiences in the home (Ausubel and Ausubel, 1963 ; Bettelheim, 1964; McClelland, 1961; Pettigrew, 1964; Bronfenbrenner, (Note 2). Other researchers too have reported a number of effects resulting from the assumedly deprived milieu of the black family. These studies are too numerous to be reviewed here but the reader is referred to Irwin Katz' (1969) critique.

The second analytical model of the black family, emanating from the homogeneity school is based on sub-cultural differences of minority Americans. Inkles (1966), Reissman (1962), Cloward and Jones (1963) and others have argued that minority group cultures have distinctive systems of values and goals that differ from the larger society. Billingsley (1968) and Young (1970) have attempted to show that the cultural values of the black family need not be compared with the values of the larger society to be deemed functional. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that many of the studies of cultural deprivation have been conducted using clinical material from atypical blacks (e.g., Davis and Dollard, 1940; Davis and Havinghurst, 1946; Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951). As Young stated, "the applicability of

psychoanalytic interpretations to American Negro life has been assumed with a minimum of knowledge about prevailing styles of interpersonal behavior..." (Young, 1970; p. 269).

A possible third analytical model for understanding the black family, but one which has, to our knowledge, yet to be employed in such a manner, is the colonial model. This perspective views the American society as systematically oppressing, thus controlling blacks (Cruise, 1962; Clark, 1965; Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967; Blauner, 1970 & 1972; Howard, 1970; Mathis, (note 3 and 1974). According to Blauner (1972), blacks are internally colonized by the American society. One implication of this position is that, regardless of cultural separateness of minority groups within the American society, their ability to survive intact is regulated by policies of the wider society. Staples (1974) points out that this model may be employed to explain aspects of black family behavior, as well as the motivation of the pathological approach to the study of the black family. A critical implication of the domestic colonial model, which Staples is also aware, is that strengths, as well as the so-called pathologies, ascribed to the black family could be a result of white racism. However, the colonial model is far from complete and should be developed before such interpretations are attempted. Nonetheless, we feel the model has merit for realistically sheding analytical light on the material and its applicability for understanding conditions of the black family and it warrants further attention.

A Brief Discussion of Class

As indicated earlier, research on racial differences in family structure and function is contaminated with methodological problems related to the conceptualization of social differentiation both within and between cultural groups. Therefore, we review this critical variable for the purpose of indicating where research is needed. Social class status has been widely employed as a variable in social science research. It is primarily used for classifying individuals into categories above or below one another on some scale of inferiority and superiority. The scale is intended to denote one's position regarding social and economic prestige and/or power.

The most noted conceptual framework for measuring social class has been Max Weber's (1946) triad of prestige, wealth and power. A myriad of standardized and ad hoc social class measures has been developed which focus upon all or a portion of Weber's traid (See Mathis, Note 4, for a review of these measures). The most popular type of measure for social class is an occupation-scaled measure used to reflect prestige. Other types consist of single variables, such as education, income and possessions. A number of multiple indices also exists. It has been questioned whether such measures can be applied equally in an oppressive, pluralistic and fluid society such as the United States. This is especially critical since most measures of social class status were developed with whites, and there is little convincing evidence that they accurately measure social class for blacks.

A number of investigators, among them Drake (1965) and Jencks (1972), have demonstrated that education and income are less related for blacks compared to whites than was expected. It has been shown that blacks are more frequently underemployed, in that they often have more education, training, or skills than their job requires. Consequently, they receive salaries and wages disproportionate to their preparation. Since an underemployed black person has a lower income than a white with equivalent years of education, the former can not afford the same standard of living as the white counterpart. This lower standard of living requires the black person to adopt a different life style than his/her status, as measured by education, would indicate.

Similarly, occupation tends not to indicate the same status for blacks as for whites, either (Fein, 1965). For example, the owner of a small business in a black shopping area might not have nearly the same income as the owner of the same business located in a white shopping area. However, according to the occupation categories of the Hollingshead-Redlich's (1958) scale, both persons would be designated middle-income. Another problem with occupational ranking is that disparities exist within occupations as well as between them.

Jencks (1972) observes that one limitation to the definition of occupational status is that it refers only to occupations, not to the specific jobs within them. Accordingly, some jobs are more attractive and rewarding than others, even though they are classified together as single occupation. Jencks raises the following questions in this regard: 1) To what extent does the prestige

of a particular job depend upon its unique attributes? and 2) To what extent does the prestige of the job depend on the occupation with which it is associated? (Jencks, 1972, p. 178).

On the other hand, American society appears to contain considerable agreement concerning the ranks of occupations. The consistency has been noted for whites, blacks, old, young, southerners, northerners, urban, rural, rich, poor, educated, and uneducated (Reiss, 1961). Over the last several decades, Americans have rated occupations in much the same way. However, different individuals often disagree quite sharply about the status of particular occupations. According to Jencks (1972), the consensus about an occupation's prestige derives largely from two factors:

(1) Most people rank an occupation high if it attracts highly educated workers;

(2) Most people rank an occupation high if it pays well.

A possible third determinant to the occupational rating question, though less statistically significant than education or income, is that people's judgment about occupation seems to be negatively influenced by the percentage of blacks and women in it.

Billingsley's (1968) assertion that the developed indicators of social class are relatively more reliable when used for white ethnic groups than when used unmodified with black groups, has never been adequately refuted. Billingsley believes that such indicators have resulted in an over-estimation of the number of lower class blacks and that this obscures rather than clarifies much of that group's variety of status and behavior. Although he accepts the utility of social class, he feels that current measures

are mostly indicators of economic and social positions in the wider white community, not accurate descriptions of which blacks associate with whom and why.

It should be pointed out that social class status depends primarily on the manner in which an individual or individuals are held in esteem by their fellow group members. Social class status depends, therefore, on the cultural values of the group. Deference is awarded according to what the group cherishes as being noble or worthy. Hence, status could be based upon such characteristics as age, wisdom, heredity, or economic power and vary from one cultural group to another. Since the cultural distinctiveness of black Americans still warrants investigation, measures of social class status for them also waits for clearer determination. The extent to which blacks possess different values regarding what is worthy in an individual determines their different orientation to family, their community, and the wider white community.

Cultural relativity is an important, yet complicated, factor when comparing heterogenous groups within the same social structure. It appears logical to assume that different ethnic groups within the same society can be compared using the same social class criterion, though this does not seem to be the empirical case for the United States. The problem has been highlighted by the negative relationship reported between socioeconomic scores of non-white persons in the 1960 United States Census (United States Bureau of the Census, 1967). The assumption that status is perceived in the same way in white and black communities is probably misleading.

Ie addition to what has been stated above, it is questionable whether occupational prestige among blacks is as imporant as material symbols, e.g., automobile, clothes, homes, etc. (cf., for example, Dodson, Note 5). It is possible that blacks might even place greater emphasis upon material possession than, for instance, education or source of income. As a result of past discrimination in educational and occupational opportunities, it is also possible that blacks have come to value income, regardless of source, as an important indicator worth or success in life.

We concur with Billingsley (1968) that the importance of social class is that the higher the social class status of an individual the greater will be the individual's ability to survive with integrity in an hostile society. For an historically subjugated group, survival and dignity might be invaluable social qualities. Furthermore, given the historical material experience and relationship of blacks and whites in North America, the extent to which they can be compared using similar social indicators is dubious. To ignore fundamental differing realities while classifying them into common social classes is to commit a serious methodological oversight.

SUMMARY

Our examination of major conceptualizations and problems in studies of the black family has been done in an effort to help shape our thoughts regarding prerequisite components of a 'reflective'

analysis. Admittedly, this has been a somewhat limited review. We have not dealt with the roles of various family members, primarily because these are intertwined with the cultural patterns of marriage and family in the black community. Traditional roles of father, mother, and children are themselves shaped by cultural expectations. Also, family roles are undergoing intensive change in contemporary American society. Studies to which we have referred indicate that such roles are as transitional for black families as they are in the wider society and related to either intragroup cultural or structural differences.

Finally, we do not feel we have resolved the issues underscoring the origin and function of the black family. However, in spite of these exclusions, our perusal of the literature on black families has been informative for major concepts and models which analytically dominate the field. Our task now is to keep this data in mind as we attempt to develop an approach for 'reflective' exploration and analyses of black families within contemporary America.

TOWARD REFLECTIVE ANALYSES OF BLACK FAMILIES

As we began to consider what should be the beginning frame of reference for more valid analytical conceptualizations of black family life, both the demographic realities of black people and work already done in the field stood before us. Should we not heed the implications of these data, our efforts would be lost in a mass of global confusion. To narrow our focus,but to give us maximum effectiveness for guiding theory development of black family life, we concentrated on socialization responsibilities of family.

A 'socialized' person represents the dynamic synthesis of the objective material world, and all its human relations, in which that individual finds self at any point in time. The socialization process dynamically incorporates the learning,

teaching and assuming of behaviors and attitudes which reflect the objective material realities of the individual and allows her/him to perform in the group or society to which he/she finds association. In our attempt to provide an approach for analyzing the dynamism of socialization for black families, we have been overwhelmed by the preponderence of influences on that process from the material environment of American existence for black people. As a consequence, we have chosen an environmental perspective to our articulation of a more valid frame of reference for exploring contemporary black family life in America.

Although an holistic view of environmental influences includes all that constitutes the individual's social reality, we shall discuss the economic and political spheres later. At this point, we would like to develop an environmental sphere which is not often included in clarifications of socialization.

Ecology is defined in Webster as the study of relationship between an organism and its environment. An ecological orientation to socialization considers the total naturalistic and culturally-induced geographical space. Culturally-induced space includes man-made changes, both physical and social, which have been imposed upon the natural environment. The relationship between the bio-social psychological organism and the physical, social and cultural characteristics of the environment is considered as a whole. Within an ecological framework, change in one element is related to change in the other, though both show a remarkable degree of tolerance as well as flexibility.

Our conceptualization of the ecological sphere of the human environment is multi-dimensional. It has its own structure, real and imaginary, and its dimensions, spatial, temporal, social and motion, are interrelated.

Spatial — The behavior of an individual takes place not only within a given space but is also related to other individuals, objects or elements within that given space. Space can be measured in terms of distance and density. Also, space can be opened or closed (Limited or unlimited).

Temporal — All matter undergoes constant change, whether it appears to be active or inactive. Time is the greatest device for measuring motion and change.

Social — Human behavior is intimately influenced by others. All human interaction, either within dyads or groups, is reciprocated, verbally or non-verbally.

Motion — Movement or activity is adaptable to the ecological setting.

Human behavior interacts along the above dimensions, with the ecological setting giving behavior its meaning and purpose. The nature of the ecological setting determines whether behavior can be judged appropriate or inappropriate, i.e., functional or dysfunctional. For this reason we expect adaptive human behavior to differ from one ecological situation to another. The greater the difference in ecological setting the greater are demands upon change in human behavior. In this regard human modification of the environment is critical. An example is seen in the relocation of wild life as well as in the relocation of humans.

Recently, Urie Bronfenbrenner (Note 6 and 1974) has attempted to conceptualize the ecological environment in which socialization occurs. His model consists of three concentric layers:

(1) The upper layer, which contains the family, home, neighborhood and other immediate settings. The upper layer is three dimensional, involving (i) physical (ii) social, (iii) activity relations.

(2) The second and surrounding layer limits and shapes what can and does occur within the immediate settings. Here, again, the physical, social and activity dimensions reappear, but are interrelated at more complex levels. Specifically, they are organized into institutions.

(3) Finally, undergirding both institutional structure and its embedded immediate settings are ideological systems which endow motivational meaning to institutions, physical space, social roles, activities and their interrelations.

BRONFENBRENNER: Three Layers

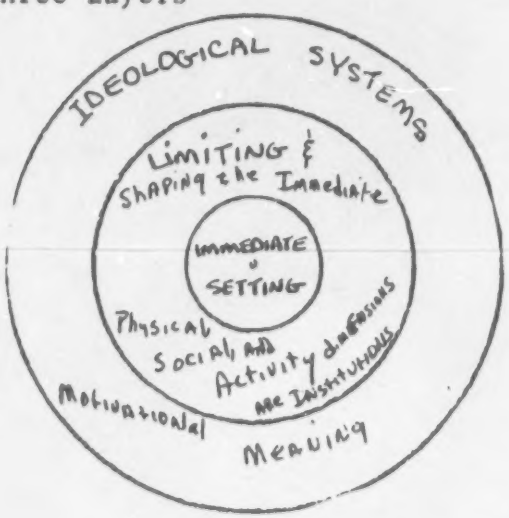

FIGURE 2

Implicit in our conceptualization of Bronfenbrenner's model (Figure 2), is that the degree of influence is greatest from the outer to the inner most layer. Later, we will see that this view of Bronfenbrenner's concentric layers resembles our conceptualization of black peoples' socialization environment. Within the model, the ecological sphere has observable consequence for black family socialization, and one such consequence has received considerable attention.

Kelly (Note 7), in his work in ecological psychology, has attempted to explain competence as it relates to the functions of different social environments and to the adaptive behavior of the individual. He sees competence as often ecologically specific and not always able to be generalized to other settings. Billingsley (1968) also seems to suggest specificity when he observes that black parents socialize their children to function in the immediate social surrounding, i.e., the black community. Others (Young, 1966; Inkles, 1968), differ from Billingsley and assume that the socialization goals of black people are more global and related to the external environmental forces which impact upon the particular ecological setting. Our group proposes that both the immediate ecology, as well as other environmental forces, impact upon black family socialization. Consequently, an attempt at 'reflective' analysis of the process must account for internal and external ecological impact, plus multiple influence from the political, social, and economic spheres. Dynamically, all of these comprise the socialization environment of black families.

We have positioned the social, economic, and political spheres as one because, in these categories, black Americans are relegated to an internally differentiated, but singularly generalized condition. Environmentally, the socialization process for black families is affected by the unavailability of maximum social, political, and economic resources (See our demographic discussion). Simultaneously, the process exists where these resources are predictably available to whites. This white environment is external to, but influential upon, the black family. A 'reflective' analysis of socialization must account for the impact from the generally 'deprived' social realities of the black environment, while it also includes relative impact from the external levels of the larger white community.

When we view black families' socialization process as being influenced by white and black communities, we have set up a unit or layered conceptualization. Given that both black and white communities are part of the overall American societal structure,a set of ideological value premises will prevail within the society. Closer to that ideology would be the white community, its member organizations and institutions. It is for these persons that the material reality of American ideology and values comes closest to fruition.

Subsumed under these units/layers would be the black community's ideological values. Emanating from these are the institutions and organizations which comprise a component of structural reality for the black community. Black families and the individual self make up the final two layers of this

concentric diagram for conceptualizing environmental realities of the socialization process (Figure 3).

SOCIALIZATION ENVIRONMENT OF BLACK FAMILIES

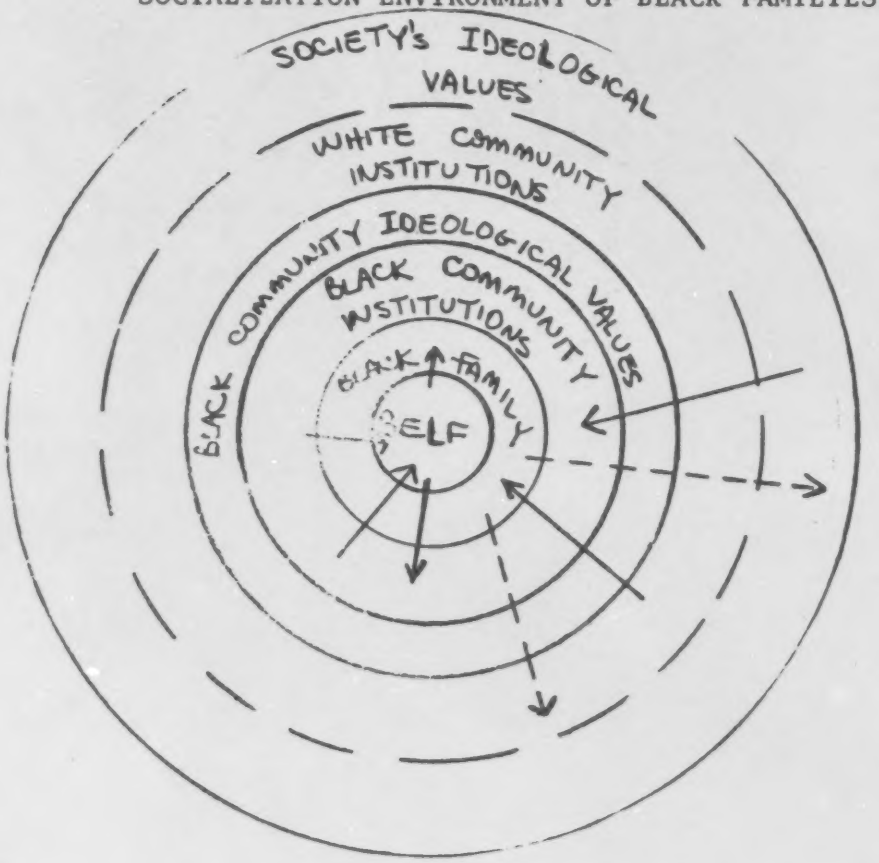

FIGURE 3

Of utmost importance is to remember that these layers are not static nor necessarily polarized. Our diagram should be viewed as a dynamic one intent on clarifying the layered interaction of black family socialization processes. We are clear that the historical foundation of black ideological values is our African ancestry. However, we affirm that the interactional nature of all social behavior has worked for black people's

four hundred year American existence as well. The dynamic synthesis of our persistent survival in an oppressive America, in spite of that oppression, is a set of social behaviors which are stylistic sub-cultural variations of an American existence.

Black family socialization occurs through interaction with family members, individuals, structures and organizations of the black community, as well as through the impact of structures, organizations, and individuals of the larger white community. Prevailing American values, beliefs, and ideals are institutionalized via social, political, and economic structures found within the wider white community. This institutionalizing process also holds true for the black community. As a people with no determining economic or political power in the United States, our organizations and institutions are maintained at the option (conscious or sub-conscious) of a white power structure. They are survival responses to an oppressive environment though they contain the stylistic behavioral expressions which identify them as Afro-American.

Within the oppression of America, it is impossible for black families to isolate their socialization process from the prevailing views and subsequent social forces maintained in the wider white society about the black family. These forces issue from societal values and are filtered through the larger white community's institutions to the black community, through the family, to the individual. The impact of the forces coming from the society, through parents, is more powerful than those emanating from the individual back to the wider society.

Naturally, socialization of black people to functional and/or dysfunctional behaviors and attitudes occurs through agents and agencies. These are individuals, groups and/or organizations who plan and initiate involvement in the social learning process. Self, siblings, parents, peers, household members, as well as persons from the organized insitutions of education, religion, economics, recreation, politics and communications, are all socializing agents. Needless to say, this list if neither exclusive nor exhaustive.

As a socializing agent, and the domestic unit of conjugal and/or kinship ties, a family is functional when it meets the physical and emotional needs of its members while providing for their social and psychological well being. Though agents direct the socialization process, the question of functional/dysfunctional evaluation of any behavioral outcome for black people must minimally be answered within the duality of their environmental context. This dual conceptualization closely follows our diagram of black behavioral patterns subsumed within a larger white American social order. The process of interacting between and among the two communities creates the minimum of a duality. The duality is carried by the black community because it brings little if any power to either environmental reality and must, therefore, adapt and adjust its interactions. When one looks at the concept of an extended black family system, the environmental reality of interactional duality is made dynamically clearer.

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Oppressive social and economic realities of a functioning black family has more often than not called upon resources beyond those available in a black nuclear relationship. The supportative network members may or may not be related by blood or marriage but the entire system is relied upon at crucial times. The motivation for upward socioeconomic mobility is so dependent on an extended system. A look at an example is illustrative.

The Johnson family, in which the older children leave school early to begin working, contributes to the educational expenses of a younger child. Given this support, at least one child receives the emotional and financial resources needed for educational, and hopefully, economic achievement. Even after the selected child marries and has children, the family would provide substantial child care to allow this member to continue upward mobility. With this concentration of resources, the Johnsons are able to maintain themselves and, as a collective, slowly inch above the poverty level.

The functionality/dysfunctionality of the Johnson's behavior, a product of their socialization process, can not merely be evaluated from the environmental context of the white community or American societal values. Were this done, the focus would be on individual rather than collective mobility. The one educated child's socialization would be viewed as deficient for not preparing that individual to concentrate physical and financial resources on professional development for the family of procreation.

However, within the contextual reality of black American existence, the evaluative focus would be family and community. The educated sibling would be viewed behaviorally correct when providing financial and emotional support to the family of orientation. Socialization for this sibling has included the knowledge that individual achievement for any black person has not societal foundation in America. Consequently, slower collective mobility is to be valued and acted upon whenever possible. The evaluation of Johnson family socialization and behavioral outcomes in the area of motivation toward upward socioeconomic mobility must be conceptualized within the contextual environment of black peoples' material reality instead of that of the larger American ideological or material environment.

A reflective analysis of the functionality/dysfunctionality of black family socialization would have to incorporate contextual evaluation. We propose that as a beginning approach to the development of reflective analyses, Figure 4 represents possible evaluations of functionality/dysfunctionality of behavioral outcomes. The combination of possible contradicting evaluations in this Figure reflects the environmental contradictions in which black people must execute their socialization process and its behavioral outcomes.

We have not proposed a neutral or zero evaluation for any of the environments in which black people act. We contend that the interrelatedness of human social behavior dictates a perspective for all activity. However, we solicit critique and clarification on this issue from our readers.

FUNCTIONAL/DYSFUNCTIONAL EVALUATION
OF BEHAVIORAL OUTCOMES

	BLACK INDIVIDUAL	BLACK FAMILY	BLACK COMMUNITY	WHITE COMMUNITY
1	+	+	+	+
2	+	+	+	-
3	-	+	+	-
4	-	+	-	-
5	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	+
7	+	-	-	+
8	+	-	+	+
9	-	+	-	+
10	+	-	+	-
11	-	-	+	+
12	+	-	-	-

FIGURE 4

We have placed abundant emphasis upon and given great discussion to environmental forces. At this point, the question should be asked why such preponderance on external influences as causally related to black family socialization.

Mandated Environmental Approach

The process of human development is evolutionary, and that development is both internal and external to members of the species. Preparation to participate in social components of the human experience is also internal and external to the individual.

External factors are the conditions' of development while internal components are the 'basis' for progressive movement on the evolutionary continuum. Be that as it is, why would our group still focus on external conditions as causal factors for black family socialization, while giving little discussion to the internal basis of the process? The answer lies in the environmental realities of black America's existence.

There is little doubt that the economic, political, ecological and social conditions of black peoples' existence in the United States is deprived and oppressive. Compared to available societal resources and to those received by whites, black people exist in persistent receipt of minimum social returns. Growth by a people existing in environmental oppression is not development but directed underdevelopment. Participation in structures which perpetuate human relations where one group is in a fixed state of material-deprivation is not participation in human evolution but in the underdevelopment of the deprived group. Under such conditions, the notion of a peoples' free will is nullified and their 'self-determination' undermined.

Though oppressed people possess the internal components for their participation in human evolutionary development, these internal forces must have operative social conditions to prevail. The environmental conditoins of black people is systematically structured not only to nullify their evolutionary participation but, also, to direct their underdevelopment. That black families have transmitted the internal components of development (strong

work ethic, desire for education, achievement motivation, etc.), in spite of social prohibitions, proves the inordinate strength of their internal components. However, the very fact of these extraordinary strengths indicate the determining nature of oppressive external conditions in the socialization process of black families. We suggest therefore, that our frame of reference, as a beginning step in the development of reflective analyses, is correct to contain relative weight for component factor which produce black family socialization; an emphasis on environmental realities as opposed to individual or personal group desires.

SOCIALIZATION IN BLACK FAMILIES

In this discussion we want to deepen our conceptual frame of reference for a reflective analysis by examining some environmental aspects of socialization. Our second focus is to examine the process employed by the black family to socialize functional behavior and appropriate behavioral attitudes. The overall goal is to ferret out issues from our conceptual approach to black family socialization which would assist researchers in accurate descriptions, as well as facilitate interpretations of behavioral outcomes which are consistent with the environmental realities of black family life. The black child will be the living organism upon which our orientation will focus.

Socialization is the process by which individuals learn and assume the ways of a given society or social group. The process makes one capable of functioning within that society or group. Socialization for black children requires that parents prepare them to function within the dynamics of all levels of our environmental diagram (See Figure 3). The child must be able to participate, and yet protect self from the negative attitudes and actions of forces impinging upon self-esteem, feelings of self-worth and human evolutionary development. Positive evaluations are placed upon behavior (the result of socialization) that makes black children capable of interacting with any segment of the society. Behavior is functional if it facilitates the maintenance of self-worth as the child acquires the educational, economic and personal skills necessary to meet developmental needs. However, because the environmental realities of black family life are oppressive and often contradictory, behavior that may be functional at one level of our conceptualization of the world may be dysfunctional in another. Behavior and behavioral outcomes must be examined and evaluated in the context in which they are occurring. Socialization imparts the values and skills needed to manipulate these differing contexts.

As we attempt to give perspective to the analytical conceptualization of black family socialization, we must be careful not to assume a monolithic view; one that would not stand the test of reality. Any frame of reference we develop must be abstract and comprehensive enough so that the majority of families can be placed within it. We know that there is diversity and

some families function within the black community and some without. We also realize that, regardless of socialization paths, few, if any, black families are able to escape the negative impact of the wider white society. It is important, therefore, to conceptually represent alternative socialization possibilities within black families, because different social life-styles will cause different socialization or child-caring patterns. These differences may account for a diversity of usefull techniques developed by families for functioning at the various environmental levels.

Figure 5, is an alternative view of the black child's socialization environment and is identical to Figure 3 with the exception that it represents families who are attempting not to function within the black community. These are families which have so strongly identified with values of the dominant community that their method of survival is through assimilation. Though the historical reality of American has established no place for black assimilation, we can not overlook the fact that there are black families who operate from that idealistic frame of reference. Therefore, we adjust our diagram (Figure 3) to include the reality of diversity among black families and the black community (Figure 5).

At this point, we see three types of socialization constellations among black families; those who attempt to prepare the child to function within the dynamics of all layers of the social order (See Figure 3), those who attempt to protect the child from the white community, and those who isolate themselves from the black

FIGURE 5

community, As readers take up our discussion, we may find even more socialization approaches. And as we develop the possibilities, hopefully we will be able to clarify an overall framework that would represent the majority of black families.

Black Family Processes

As a process, socialization provides that the black child becomes aware of society's norms, values, beliefs, ideals and that the child incorporates and assimilates these into part of his/her own personality. During the process, the individual learns the appropriate roles and orientations for the respective environments. This internalization of cultural norms and values is the result of social interactions that occur between child and parents, child and family, and between the child's family and the wider communities of the society.

Normative values regulating child-rearing exist in every society. The normative order expected by the society, both immediate and distant, are routinely exposed to the child by the adult during the socializing process. The environment is usually organized into reference groups, each playing a functional role in the socialization process. Kemper (1968) has pointed out three types of reference groups that serve as social mechanisms to facilitate socialization: the normative group, the audience group and the comparison group.

Normative groups provide guidance by setting norms and reinforcing values. Conformity is expected and normative groups direct this conformity. The audience group provides rewards to those who go beyond mere compliance with the norms: the gifted player, the very obedient child. Comparison groups provide the person with a frame of reference with which to evaluate her/his own behavior. These groups judge the adequacy of one's performances and help to provide guidelines by which the performance of others can be evaluated. These three types of reference groups operate in the life of the black child.

The major difference between the black child and the white child is that the black child minimally has two sets of reference groups. Again, reflecting our conceptualization of the socialization interaction, one set of reference groups refers and reflects norms of the wider white society, while another reflects the norms of the black community. There is overlap between the two groups but there are also distinct areas for each. Figure 6 represents this conceptualization, as well as the translation of Kemper's reference groups to black family socialization.

At this point it is appropriate to ask if there are values and norms distinctive to the black community? Without a doubt, there are normative behaviors among black people which, though not exclusive, do represent a stylistic distinctiveness for Afro-Americans. The existence of similar values or a distinctive value system is yet a question to be empirically demonstrated. However, given distinctive behavioral norms, a graphic representation of differences between black and white communities would be Figure 7.

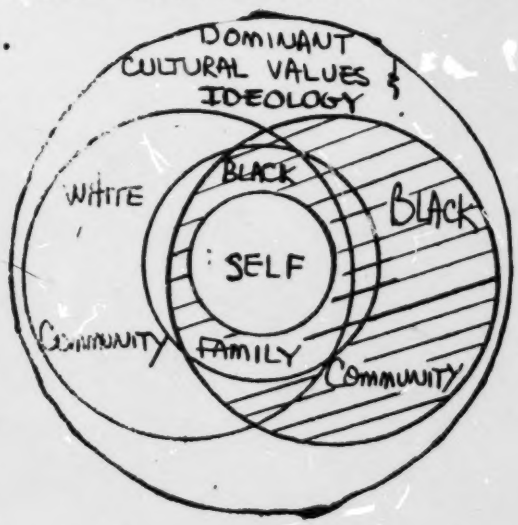

FIGURE 7

The darkened areas, in which the black community does not overlap in the white, would be the distinctive values and norms held by black people. But even these are impacted by the wider society's values.

As crucial as the parent-child relationship is for socialization, so too, is the parent-parent relationship. Black male/female interaction has generated a great deal of controversial verbiage but little empirical data (Staples 197 ; Dodson, 1973).

One wonders why so little research attention has been given this issue? An answer could be the sensitivity to myths and misunderstandings surrounding the issues, a second reason could be the personal involvement of black researchers in such interactions. It is easier to discuss black children as they are outside the male/female question. Researchers may find it more difficult to separate selves from family or family roles, or the roles and interactions between mother and father.

As the literature on black families confuses the issue with conflicting theories and points of view, so too, is the interaction between parents contaminated by such conflicts. A major contaminator commonly heard is the issue of the matriarchy of the black family. Staples (1970) has viewed this myth as a cruel hoax perpetuated by blacks and whites and detrimental to cooperative functioning within black families. In relating Staples' writings to our developing frame of reference, the black female family member's participation in the wider society is economically exploited on issues of sex and race. In addition, she faces an overwhelming barrier to the male/female unio component of her womanhood due to the shortage of black males in America's oppressive order. This is compounded by resulting inequities of black males receiving from one-half to two-thirds the income of white males with comparable background. The overall result is a necessity for almost universal black maternal employment. It is apparent that black family socialization will be affected by these realities. The normative impressions imbibed by female and male black children will differ

from those upheld in the wider society and learned by white children. Black males and females develop in a way that allows them to economically perpetuate selves and family, but, also, in a way that does not necessarily reflect the larger white normative order.

Some Research Issues

The area of child-rearing practices related to differential socialization for sex roles is in need of empirical research that employs a reflective perspective regarding the environmental realities which impinge upon this responsibility of black families. What are the sex role socialization patterns for black children? And what is the practical synthesis employed by black families, given conflict between what the society holds as normative and what the experience of black males and females has been? Our perspective on contextual functionality/dysfunctionality should allow for an examination of strengths and weakness of sexual socialization.

A necessary economic fact of black life is the high rate of maternal employment. In the idealized extended rural-based family system, where members of the community and other family members help in rearing children, the impact of maternal employment is minimized. However, with urbanization and increasing marital disruption, this ideal family structure is seldom found to exist. The picture of warm, extended loving support may be inaccurate. The child may be socialized in a family, whether nuclear, one-parent or attenuated, in which persons concerned about the

welfare of the child are not available to provide care while the mother works. Likewise, the neighborhood or church-member substitute may be difficult to find in our inner cities. Another needed research effort is that of documenting the patterns of child care that are now being used and evaluating their contextual functionaity/dysfunctionality.

Using our conceptualization of socialization and black families, the conditions concerning the father's employment are an element in which the wider society's values impact, emphatically, upon the family. Census data reflect the inequities of and the difficulty that the black male has in maintaining an economic level sufficient to meet the needs of his family. Attitudes of self-worth that an adult male experiences with persistent unemployment, underemployment and underdevelopment will result in attitudes regarding his own efficacy in the society. These attitudes can be transmitted to and inculcated by children of the family and community. In evaluating socialization functionality it is important to document areas of family interaction which are functional to the development of positive, self assertive children who have feelings of social efficacy and self-worth. Given the society's divisiveness as regards male-female relations, the greater self-reliance that is necessary for the black female to survive and to protect her children must be nurtured. However, focusing on her strengths must not allow for depreciating evaluations of the black male. Documentation of male and female aspects of family functioning that allow black people to protect selves from the devastating effects of white American ideology, are sorely needed.

In summarizing the issues of interactions between parents and among mother, father and child within the family, two basic questions should be asked: (1) What attributes or competencies and what skills would black males and females need to perpetuate a socialization process that provides for human evolutionary development? (2) What socialization practices would be needed to encourage the achievment of these skills and competencies? It is important for two reasons to look at the male/female interaction (McAdoo, 1974): first, because the relationship between man and woman within the family is the end-result of their socialization process; and, secondly, because it is the arena in which the next generation of black children will be socialized.

Not only are black children socialized by parents within the dominant values of American society but other social agencies participate in the process. A difficulty for black children, not experienced by whites, is the double developmental task of learning the norms of the society while dealing effectively with the negative evaluations of their racial/ethnic identity held by the larger society. In spite of these,black children continue to experience strong ethnic identity through participating in black families and black community organizations. The discrepancy that exists between skills needed to operate within the larger white society and those needed in the black community becomes apparent, however. The black child quickly inculcates two parallel and sometimes, opposite developmental forces. Shifting between these, the reevaluation and reinterpretation of perceptions required, could eventually take a toll.

However, with all minority persons, the double-thinking process does become routine over the course of a lifetime.

In observing a Day Care Center, Young (1974) felt that socialization to perserve a commitment to personal goals by the child, as well as to judging and adjusting to persons in authority, was achieved simultaneously. She thustly discerned an alternative type (simultaneous duality) of socialization within the urban group. Young appears to be stating that the child in the Center who is able to give-in totally to authority, in essence, would be going against the best wishes of his/her person and goals. In using Kemper's (1968) types of reference groups, the audience group, composed of Day Care Center power figures, makes demands upon the child. These demands, if met, may be deemed detrimental to the childs behavior within the Center, the behavior of compliance in less detrimental and, indeed, functional. Without the child being able to stay in the Day Care Center, the mother would have difficulty working. While some interaction in the Center may be dysfunctional to some of the child's psyche, the overriding collective concern that the family maintain an ability to manipulate within the society, causes the child to make the bridge with a minimum of psychic harm.

This behavioral complex could suggest a further clarification to our frame of reference. Black people exist, not in a bi-cultural position, but in a double-cultural position. Bi-culture often implies two equal groups but, since facts dismiss equality of black and white communities in which black children operate, the double-cultural approach may be more accurate. Again we solicit thoughts from our readers on this issue.

Using our frame of reference with its evaluative schema, we can analyze and evaluate the black family on two levels; functionality of the unit per se, and functionality of sub-units, i.e., dynamics of individuals within the family unit. In viewing the family unit, certain patterns tend to evolve. Schulz (1969), based upon his participant observation case studies, found that the black family most able to survive as a unit in a situation with little hope for mobility or income resources sufficient to meet human needs, is the one able to maximize whatever advantages or resources that are available within itself or within the community. A functional family would, therefore, be the unit best able to cope with undesirable situations in which it finds itself.

Documenting coping patterns has been seen by some (Stack, 1975) as approaching the black family from a negative frame of reference. Such an approach is seen as perpetuating schools of thought in which the black was viewed as non-functioning. However, in attempting to develop a reflective frame of reference, it becomes apparent that because of oppressive conditions under which the majority of black families are forced to live, the best that can be said of their relationship to the wider society is that it is one of coping. Black families are not able to actualize their humanity, they do not have social resources available with which to make more viable choices, they are striving to manage day to day. Coping could become, then, an extremely functional attribute. It gives credit to a unit in which, in the majority of cases, families are functioning at a financial level far below

that which is necessary; and in which the educational opportunities for children do not hold the benefit of escape to a more comfortable life. Only with competence would one be able to develop coping strategies in the face of such oppressive conditions.

Using our approach to focus on the second component of the family, the dynamic interaction within, would allow an evaluation of at least four sets of interaction: (1) between mother and father; (2) between mother and child; (3) between father and child; and (4) between children. In evaluating the functionality/dysfunctionality of parent-child interaction, we want to caution against romanticizing the beauty and "love" found in black homes. Studies documenting negative and positive interactions are available and our approach allows and dictates both.

FOOTNOTES

[1]When conflicting cultures have met, the dominant culture is usually imposed upon the social customs of the weaker cultural group, often redefining marital practices and family patterns. Both need not be the object of the new social custom, since they are usually intimately interrelated: change in one inevitably leads to change in the other.

[2]Marriage and family are generally treated together because of their unique interrelationship; marriage in most instances is the underlying structure of the family.

[3]See Clark (1965) and Staples (1972) for a discussion of this problem. Also, contrast works which have appeared in the mental health literature regarding the validity and applicability of the normality construct (Szasz, 1961; Putney and Putney, 1964; Laing, 1967; and Kittrie, 1971).

[4]Reportedly, Frazier later modified his position that black families were largely disorganized. However, we have not been able to substantiate this shift in his views.

[5]This assumption is not shared by some students of the family who see black families as not different from white families when social structural factors are controlled (see Rodman, 1963; Scanzoni, 1971, Liebow, 1966; and Willie, 1970). Walter Allen refers to this view as a "cultural equivalent" position (Allen, personal communication, March, 1976).

[6]That is, materials concerning or characteristic of Africa, its civilization, or its culture.

[7]The race-relations cycle involves four interdependent stages: contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Contact occurs when two races meet and interact in a common geographical boundary. Conflict arises when they compete for valuable and limited resources, and is resolved by accommodation. The latter is a stable, temporary state, in which the races are unequal. Finally, accommodation gives way to assimilation, and the races merge culturally and, ultimately, physically into an homogenous society (Park, 1950).

[8]Merton (1957) has proposed that there are modes of individual adaptation (i.e., Conformity, Innovation, Ritualism, Retreatism, and Rebellion) which express different cultural goals and institutional means for achieving them.

[9]Warner's Index of Status Characteristics, for example, consists of inherited wealth, ranked highest on the scale, and public relief and "non-respectable income," ranked lowest (Warner, et.al., 1949). The assumption that non-respectable income (e.g., income from illegitimate sources) cannot indicate high social status is unfounded. Income from organized crime, for instance, can advance social status.